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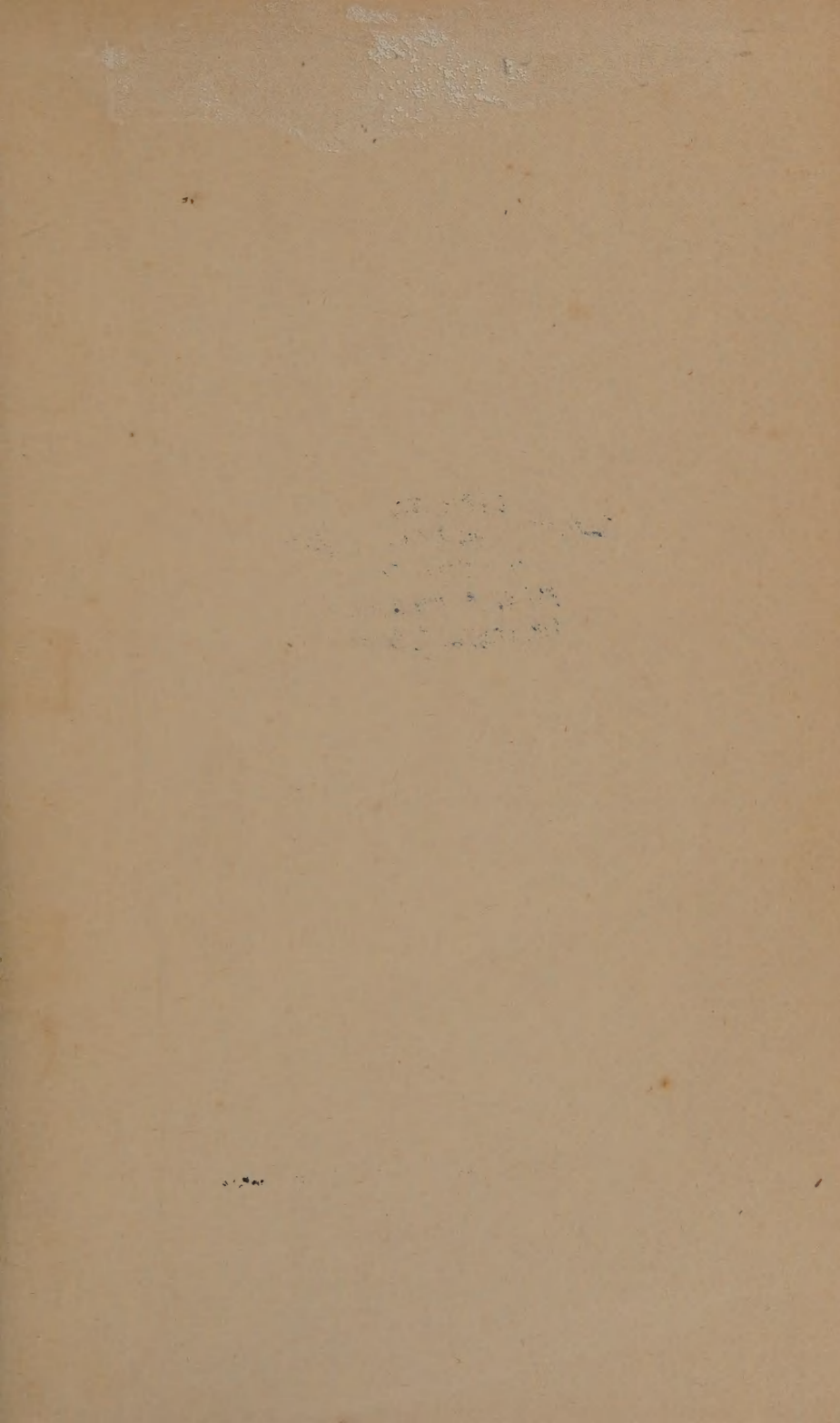
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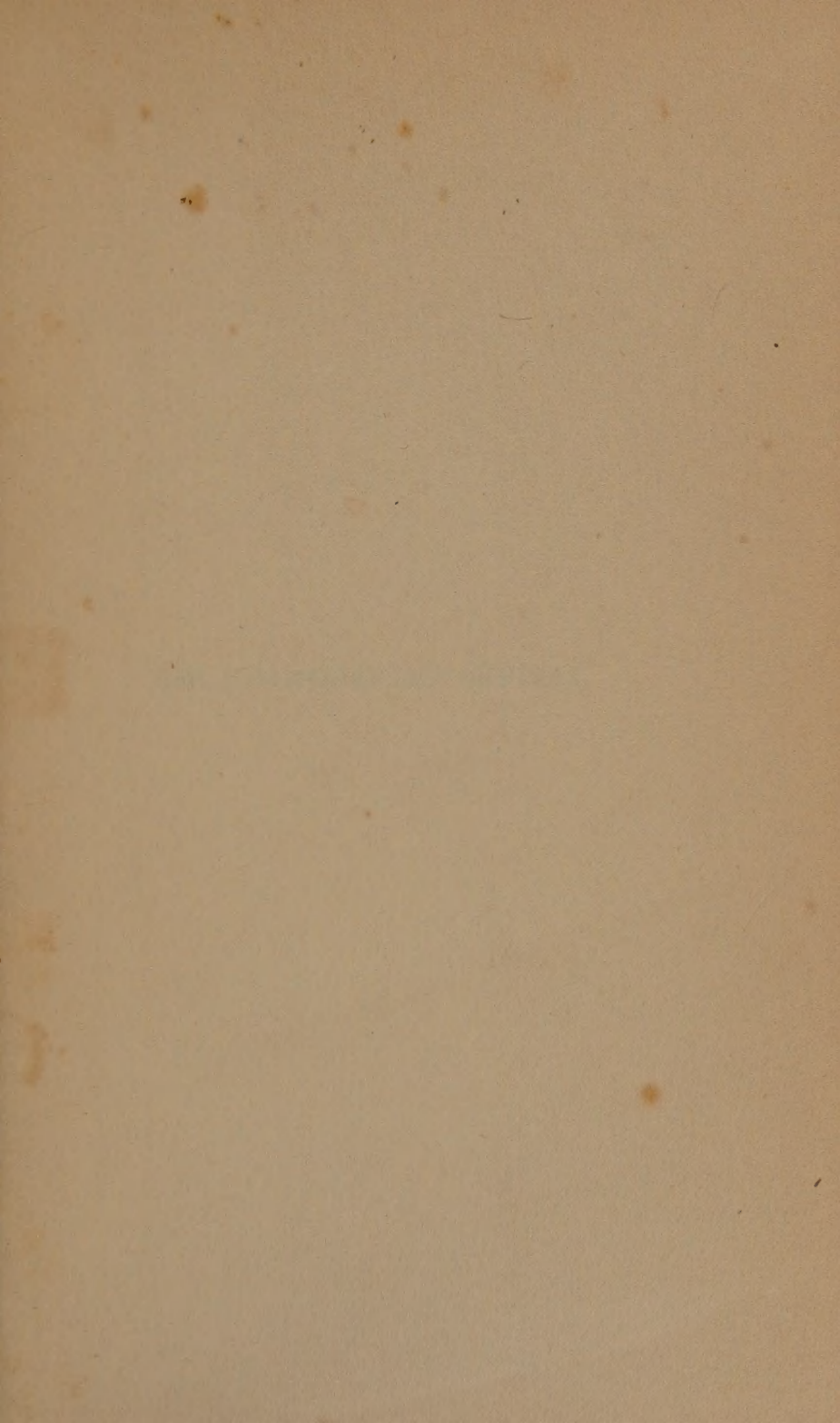
THE EVANGELICAL
REVIVAL
S. BARING-GOULD



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THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

BY

S. BARING-GOULD, M.A.

HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AUTHOR OF

"THE CHURCH REVIVAL"

"THE TRAGEDY OF THE CÆSARS," ETC.

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LATE VICE-PRINCIPAL OF BISHOP HATFIELD'S HALL, DURHAM
WHO HAS MOST KINDLY READ AND REVISED MY MS.

BY
S. BARING-GOULD

Methodist World Service Fund

Religion

PREFACE

THE Author has been engaged for many years on the History of the Church and of Religion in England from the Reformation to the Oxford Movement : the result has been the production of a work of which, at the present date, after the Great War, he cannot expect to obtain publication, both on account of the high cost of printing and of the paucity of purchasers of expensive works. He has accordingly deemed it advisable to issue the work broken up into periods. And he ventures to send forth the portion dealing with the final period before publishing the rest, because it is that which is of more immediate interest to the present generation, dealing as it does with the rise of Evangelicalism, in the Calvinism of Whitefield and the Evangelical Fathers in the Church, and in Lutheranism which found its apostle in John Wesley.

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THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

I

INTRODUCTORY

You fur your gloves with Reason.

Troil. and Cressid., II, 2.

ACTION and Reaction—The History of the Church of England, and, in fact, of Religion generally in England has been one of action and reaction, of the swing of the pendulum from right to left, and then from left to right. After the violence, the sacrileges and the hypocrisies of the reign of Edward VI, the feeling of the people generally was one of relief and welcome at the return to Catholicism under Mary, though resolute not any more to submit to the Papacy. But the fires of Smithfield disgusted Englishmen on the whole with Catholicism in any shape ; and the swing was to Calvinism, fostered by the Bishops, the majority of whom were returned Marian exiles from Geneva and Zürich. But towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth ensued a revolt against Calvinism, and the Jacobean and Caroline age was one of recovery of the first principles of a Church. Then ensued the lurch into Puritanism and the uprooting of the Church. Men tired of Puritanism, and welcomed the restoration of the Church under Charles II. But with the Revolution came in Latitudinarianism, bred mainly of rebellion against the dogmatism of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries ; and this was favoured by William III, whose appointments to bishoprics were of men of Liberal principles. Yet, notwithstanding the secession of the Non-Jurors, there was a partial rally under Queen Anne. But sufficient of the Bishops and Deans and well-beneficed remained of William's appointment to

give a prevailing aspect and predominant colour to the Church of England, and that Latitudinarian. In dealing with the Church and Religion in the Hanoverian period, this must be borne in mind. Latitudinarianism found its most outspoken and able advocate in Bishop Hoadly in the reign of George I.

We will accordingly take a cursory view of Latitudinarianism, for out of it, by the swing of the pendulum, arose Evangelicalism, inside and outside of the Church.

Medieval Terrors—The medieval world was oppressed with the terrors of Purgatory and of Hell, far more than relieved by hopes of Heaven. The *Divina Commedia* of Dante, the tales current of the vision of the Knight Owain and of S. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, and the coarser wall paintings of the Doom over every chancel arch in England, served to keep minds in a condition of perpetual tremor.

The child stared with horrified eyes at the huge open jaws of Hell, and at the devils pitch-forking miserable beings into that flaming, gaping gulf. The impression first made in childhood, renewed in after life every Sunday, grew in intensity of terror as old age and death drew nigh.

There was not much attractive on the other side of the picture : the Heavenly Jerusalem represented as a closely walled-in city, doubtless with malodorous narrow streets, and the angels by no means beautiful and attractive as companions.

There existed one gleam in the prospect. Purgatory was but for a time, remedial and preparatory for Paradise. But this door of hope was shut with a bang by the Reformers, and nothing was left but a dire alternative of everlasting woe or eternal blessedness, to which latter few could attain.

Conflicting Schemes—In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries two schemes of salvation, or to be more exact two schemes of escape from eternal damnation, were propounded to Christians, quivering with fear. Either men must accept the Pope and the creed of Pius IV or be damned. According to this scheme, the vast multitudes of the Eastern Church, Russians, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinian Christians, those of S. Thomas in

INTRODUCTORY

India, the Protestants throughout Europe, the Anglicans, pious and devout Mohammedans, and ignorant, simple, heathen, living up to the lights accorded them, were all involved in one sweeping condemnation.

Only such as knew nothing of the abominations of the Vatican, its paganism in life and morals, and who shut their eyes to the sanguinary past of the Papacy, could accept these conditions of escape.

Verbal Paintings—On the other hand, Calvinism insisted that unless each man could assure himself that he was of the number of the elect, his doom was sealed. This system was just as exclusive as the other. The paintings of the Doom had been whitewashed over, but the Puritan preacher pictured the horrors of Hell in most vigorous and telling words that convulsed his hearers and not infrequently drove them insane and to suicide. The writer was told by a young Welshman that, when he was a boy, he went to a chapel with his father and mother and heard such a flaming discourse on Hell that he fell into agonies of fear, the sweat ran off him in cold streams, and in returning home he clung to his mother's hand in fear, expecting the earth to gape and fire to burst forth and consume him. Only at supper, whereat the preacher was present as guest, and he, poor lad, could not swallow anything, did relief arrive, when he saw the minister consume large hunks of cold mutton, and drink several tumblers of gin and water, crack jokes, and roar at his own witticisms. Then said the boy to himself, "It is all lies. He does not believe his own words."

Conscientious Revolt—The Calvinistic system was severely exclusive. According to the calculation of Lewis Du Moulin, in every generation 999,999 were destined to howl and whimper through eternity in outer darkness, haunted by terrific phantoms and tortured by the never dying worm; whereas one, one alone in each generation of men was predestined to sit in sunny serenity enthroned in light and glut his eyes on the myriads excluded. Inevitably the human conscience rebelled against such systems. One of the first tokens of a change of opinion, a breaking away from one or other of these two systems, is seen in a letter of James Howell, dated 28 July, 1648.

"Difference of opinion, no more than a differing complexion, can be cause enough for me to hate any. A differing fancy is no more to me than a differing face. If another hath a fair countenance, though mine be black, or if I have a fair opinion, though another have a hard-favoured one, yet it shall not break that common league of humanity which should be betwixt rational creatures, provided he corresponds with me in the general offices of morality and civil uprightness ; this may admit him to my acquaintance and conversation, though I never concur with him in opinion. He bears the image of Adam, and the image of the Almighty as well as I. He had God for his father, though he hath not the same Church for his mother.

"Some of the Pagan philosophers, specially Themistus, who was proctor of Byzantium, maintain'd an opinion, that as the pulchritude and preservation of the world consisted in varieties and dissimilitudes, that as it was replenished with such numberless sorts of several species, and that the individuals of those species differed so much one from the other, specially Mankind, amongst whom one shall hardly find two in ten thousand that hathe exactly (though twins) the same tone of voice, similitude of face, or ideas of mind : Therefore the God of Nature ordained from the beginning that he should be worshipped in various and sundry forms of adorations, which, nevertheless, like so many lines should tend all to the same centre. But Christian Religion prescribes another rule, viz. that there is but *una via, una veritas*, there is but one true way to Heaven, and that but a narrow one, whereas there be huge large roads that lead to Hell."

If in the concluding paragraph for "Christian Religion" we substitute Romanism and Calvinism, we shall be nearer the mark. Howell in his letter plainly exhibits a shaking of confidence in the narrow exclusive systems then proposed, and an opening of the mind's eye to a broader conception of Providence.

There were others beside Howell who had aimed at much the same conclusion. Sir Thomas Browne, the able Norwich physician, who had passed through a phase of "sturdy doubts" and "boisterous difficulties," was one. As to his

faith, he collected it from two books, the Written Word and Nature, "that universal and public manuscript that lies expanded unto the eyes of all." In a word, he brought reason to bear on dogmas and tested them by the light of common sense.

John Hales was wont to say "that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England to-morrow if it obliged him to believe that all other Christians should be damned."

Reaction against Puritanism—The iron fetters of Puritanism that had been in the forge for eighty years were completely fashioned, and the nation was fast bound by them from nigh upon 1640 to 1660. They had weighed heavily on it, and had gangrened its flesh. The reaction in intellectual, political, and social life was visible in the full, free, and vigorous development of all the latent powers and energies of human thought. The shackles of the most narrowing system that ever weighed down the mind of free England were shaken off, but the freed intellect knew not what to do with its liberty. Some returned to and hugged their chains, but the majority of men were intoxicated with their liberty and resented any limitations whatsoever.

Reeling to and fro, they needed time in which to recover sobriety; and neither time nor occasion for such recovery had been accorded them from 1660 to 1689.

Bolingbroke—The St. Johns were a strong Puritan family, and Henry St. John, first Viscount Bolingbroke, had as well for his mother, Mary, daughter of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, so that he was steeped in and saturated with Calvinism from his cradle. Of God he knew no more than what he had learned from the Assembly Catechism, and what he had heard from Puritan preachers. The result was his entire repudiation of Christianity. "I am to plead the cause of God Himself," he wrote, "against Divines and Atheists in confederacy."¹ "The conduct of Christian Divines has been so far from defending the Providence of God that they have joined in the clamour against it. . . . Divines, if not Atheists, are abettors of Atheism."² "Divines are to be blamed. . . . They persist, and have done their best, in concert with their allies, to destroy the

¹ Bolingbroke's *Works*, 1754, V, p. 305.

² *Ibid.*, p. 485.

belief in the goodness of God. . . . They endeavour to destroy that (the idea) of His Goodness, which is a farther article of their alliance."¹ "The Confederacy between Atheists and Divines appears to have been carried very far." "Divines upbraid God's Goodness and censure His Justice."² "Injustice is, in this life, ascribed to God, by Divines."²

It was the dissociation in the Calvinist creed of Goodness and Justice from God and His dealings with men that led to Bolingbroke's revolt.

What the Latitudinarian Party was—During this epoch of effervescent liberty of intellect, undogmatic independence, and emancipation of morals, the Latitudinarian party arose—a party of sobriety, sans enthusiasm, sans convictions, sans ideals, sans poetry, but full of common sense from the crown of its bald head to the extremity of its gouty toes. It was old and yet youthful, old as the age of Greek philosophy, but young in its manifestation at this present moment. It was a party that acted as a leaden keel to religion, steadying it, keeping it upright; and eminently serviceable so long as it kept under water and did not invade the entire vessel, ribs, planking, masts, shrouds, sails; which was that towards which Latitudinarianism tended and which it all but successfully achieved.

The Broad Principle of Latitudinarianism—Hitherto religious opinion in England had been dogmatic, but Latitudinarianism was undogmatic. Heresy, at each period that it arose, denied the orthodox doctrine on some particular point, and set up a doctrine of its own in opposition to it; but Latitudinarianism neither denied the orthodox doctrine nor set up any counter doctrine of its own, but contented itself with allowing a perfect liberty of choice between the one and the other, putting all doctrines on an equality, and making it, so far as orthodoxy is concerned, a matter of indifference which opinion we adopt or which we reject. This is, in reality, the theory which goes commonly under the name of the right of private judgment, or the right of every man to form his own belief upon his independent interpretation of Scripture, or indeed the right of every man

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

² *Ibid.*, p. 541.

to frame a religion for himself independently alike of the Church and of Holy Scripture. Whoever asserts his right to fashion a religion for himself either out of Scripture or out of his own head apart from it, cannot, of course, question the right of his neighbour to do the same ; nor, however he may disagree with the conclusion that the latter may arrive at, can he stigmatize it as heterodox. One man may worship Quexalcoatl, another Wainominen, a third Mumbo Jumbo, a fourth Allah, and a fifth Jehovah, all are equally right or equally wrong ; it matters not a snap of the fingers which. And the *morale* of this view of religion is that, as there is and can be no revelation of divine truth, each man is responsible only for what he does believe.

Tendency—But the direct and inevitable tendency of Latitudinarianism—of what is actually Indifference to Truth—is towards Deism at the best, Atheism at the worst.

The line adopted by the Latitudinarian party was that which culminated in the teaching of Hoadly, that no such a thing exists as absolute truth, and that for salvation every man must pursue such truth as he believes or professes to believe.

Causes of Recoil—There were other factors determining the revolt of the English theologians from Calvinism, a revolt that has taken place in France, Switzerland, Germany and Holland as well, all in the Latitudinarian direction. These factors need no more than enumeration here : (1) A rebellion against the dogmatism of the Confessions, defining matters beyond the capacity of the human mind to grasp ; and (2) a resolution to recover common morality from being undermined and subverted by Calvinism and Lutheranism, and above all by the Spirituals. The recoil from these latter was marked. The Latitudinarians took their stand on Common Sense, and shrank with repugnance from every manifestation of the mystic, the spiritual, in Man. They were the Utilitarians of theology. A Utilitarian says, What is the use of a nightingale, unless roasted ? What profit is there in the fragrance of the rose, unless you can distil from it an otto at ten shillings a drop ? What can you mint out of the red flush of a morning cloud, save a shepherd's warning, to take his waterproof with him when

going out on the wold? So the Latitudinarian asked *cui bono* of the Enthusiast, his prophesyings, his prayers, his rhapsodies. And with regard to Calvinism it was not *cui bono*, but *cui exitium mortale non est*? Therefore away with both, and set up Reason, enthroned upon the altar, not nude, indeed, as in the French Revolution, but in rochet and lawn sleeves in our cathedrals. Inevitable, necessary perhaps, as this rebellion was, it was certain that such a partial gospel as that of Tillotson must fail in the end. Deep calls to deep, but breadth and shallowness to no profound feelings of the human soul; and the Wesleyan revival was as surely a revolt from Latitudinarianism as the latter was a revolt from spiritual fanaticism. Like Dubius in Cowper's poem "Conversation," the Latitudinarian

is such a scrupulous good man—
 Yes—you may catch him tripping if you can,
 He would not, with a peremptory tone,
 Assert the nose upon his face his own ;
 With hesitation admirably slow,
 He humbly hopes, presumes it may be so.
 Through constant dread of giving Truth offence,
 He ties up all his hearers in suspense,
 Knows what he knows as if he knew it not,
 What he remembers seems to have forgot ;
 His sole opinion, whatsoe'er befall,
 Centring at last in having *none at all*.

Where the Romanist was positive, on very dubious historic grounds for his positiveness, and the Calvinist positive on none save the opinion of John Calvin, and a few Pauline texts, it was a duty to assume a position of hesitancy; but that position should only have been maintained till definite convictions had been formed. Religion cannot be built on a fog-bank or in a quagmire.

From Calvinism to Deism in Geneva—The recoil from Calvinism was, as just stated, not confined to England. It was most marked in Geneva itself. In a letter of Voltaire, in 1768, to the Marquis of Villevielle, he writes, "Be assured there are not twenty persons in Geneva who do not abjure Calvin as heartily as they do the Pope." In D'Alembert's article on Geneva in the *Encyclopædia* we read: "We must not think that the Genevese entertain the prevalent opinions

on those articles of religion elsewhere deemed most important. Many of them believe no longer in the divinity of Jesus Christ. . . . To say all in a word, several pastors of Geneva have no other religion than that of a perfect Socinianism. They reject all Mysteries, and believe that the first principle of true religion is, to propose nothing to belief which shocks our reason ; thus, when they are pressed on the *necessity* of revelation, a dogma so essential to Christianity, they substitute the word *utility*, which seems to them less hard and positive ; in this they are not orthodox. but they are consistent with their own principles. Respect for Jesus Christ and the Scriptures is perhaps the only thing which distinguishes the Christianity of Geneva from pure Deism."

The same course down-grade that was taken in Geneva was taken by many of the Latitudinarians and all the Presbyterians in England.

It is no matter of wonder that Roman Catholicism should have increased so largely in Geneva. It is the same in Holland. In fact, Holland is one of the most hopeful fields in which the Roman missionaries reap harvests. On a Sunday at the Groote Kerke at Haarlem a sparse congregation, with scarce a young or middle-aged man in it, is scattered through the spacious church, while congregation after congregation swarm in and out of the Roman Catholic churches. Moreover, five Roman Catholic churches have been built there with stone galleries such as one sees in some of the Rhenish churches on three sides, to accommodate the number who crowd to Mass.

The Exercise of Private Opinion Imperative—But every man must exercise his Private Opinion. He cannot avoid so doing. It is his duty to exercise his Judgment, and that upon the matters most important to his welfare. It is a faculty given to him, not like the talent to be buried in the earth, or the pound to be wrapped in a napkin ; but to be put out to usury.

He exercises his Private Judgment when he resolves to believe that the earth revolves about the sun and not, as his senses show him, that the sun revolves about the earth ; when he accepts as certain, though he has never

seen them, the existence of the continents of Africa and America. He is not compelled to believe either of these matters ; he accepts them as true by a conformity of his Private Judgment to the testimony of Science and of Geography.

So, in matters religious, the question is, not whether he has a right to exercise Private Judgment, but whether he will voluntarily consent to its limitation within certain bounds.

Its Limitations—Now, to the Christian, there are two limitations, to one or other of which he submits himself in the exercise of the freedom of his will. If he be a Protestant, his hedge is the Bible, within the bounds of which he may crop any kind of dogmatic theory. And he has the range of choice among more than a hundred sects all interpreting it differently, but, also, he is at full liberty to discover in its text some new doctrine undiscovered by anyone else. If, however, he be an English Churchman, the hedge which he cheerfully and voluntarily accepts is the Nicene Creed for belief, and for practice the Sacramental System. If he be a Roman Catholic his range is more contracted, for it is bounded by the Nicene Creed supplemented by the additions of Pius IV and more recently by the declarations of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility, as Articles of Faith. Beyond this hedge the Papist is allowed free pasture among Pious Opinions, and the exercise of Pious Practices, about which Authority has made no pronouncement. To the English Churchman the commons over which his mind may ramble are much more extended. He may exercise his Private Judgment upon the Nature of the Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, the Condition of Souls after Death, the extent to which the Communion of Saints may be carried, on the nature of Justification, and the limits of Free Will, the nature and extent of Inspiration, the Credibility and Authorship of the several Books of Scripture, and a score of other matters.

Stages in the Life of Religion—At points of time in the life of the Christian religion it shakes itself free from drowsiness that has oppressed it, or rouses itself out of some

dream that has weighed on it as a nightmare. On such occasions it rushes into activity in one direction only, such as seems to it imperative in its still dazed condition ; and, such is the narrowness of the human mind, it conceives that the sole call upon it, is to do that which is obvious at the moment.

At the Reformation, the great truth brought to light was the obligation of every human being to enter into direct relations with God, instead of approaching Him in a round-about method, such as had become prevalent in mediævalism. But this salutary truth, making each man directly responsible to God for his acts, was neutralized by Calvinism as formulated at Dort, relieving man of all responsibility for his acts, and casting responsibility for his crimes and errors upon the Almighty, who had predestined him to their commission, and had deprived him of the power of resistance to His inexorable and unchangeable decrees. From this nightmare we were liberated by Tillotson, Burnet, and the rest of the Latitudinarians. That which appeared to them as the essential need of the day was insistence on the high obligation of Truth and Justice—in a word on Probity.

Probity—The whole moral tone of the English character had to be raised ; and the effort of the Latitudinarians was to screw up the chords of the lute to one key, and that the key of Probity. And this had to be achieved everywhere, from the cottage to the palace, from the parish vestry to the Houses of Parliament and the Privy Council. Nowhere was loss of Probity more conspicuous than among the politicians from the reign of Charles II to the end of the reign of Queen Anne ; due, largely, to the shaking of all foundations of honour and loyalty, by imposition of oaths that were as lightly broken as they were lightly taken. In such periods of political unrest and of change every man sought his own welfare, and cared little or not at all for the well-being of the realm. Not till the reigns of the Georges does there appear a glimmer of genuine honesty and probity among politicians. If it appeared among them at all, it was due to the fact that the Gospel of Moral Rectitude preached by the Latitudinarians had reached even to them, long

after it had touched and won the convictions of the people generally.

In verity, the influence exerted by Tillotson and his pupils and fellow-workers was by no means confined to his own day. It pervaded the whole Hanoverian period, and that for good. What it lacked was insistence on the duties owed to God. The work of the Church at the present day is not to undo what was achieved by the Latitudinarians, but to supplement the deficiencies of their teaching. And the enormous influence that Tillotson exerted for over a century was due to this, that he met a want in his day, that he appealed directly to the plain common sense of the English people.

His teaching accorded exactly with the natural instincts of the human soul; it was the reverse of the Puritan declaration that there existed no such obligation as that of Duty, for the Puritan declared that everything was done for man—that is to say, for such men as Heaven had selected. Faulty as was Hoadly's doctrine at a later period, that which he inculcated was the broad principle of honesty, probity in religion as in all else. And if, as is the case, the Englishman, wherever he is placed, carries with him the sense of Duty, this is due to Tillotsonianism.

It was this Gospel of Probity that rang through England, preached from every pulpit, inculcated by the essayists in every household; but, as already intimated, it was an imperfect gospel, for it did not say a word on the duties, that are chief of all, but not so obvious as those owed to country and fellow-men—the duties owed to God.

No Christian people are so sensible of their responsibilities to their country, their neighbours, their employers, their Trade Union, to the horse they have to groom, to the pig they have to tend, to the canary they have to supply with groundsel, to the geranium in the bow pot, flagging for want of water, as are the English. And no members of the Church Universal are so neglectful of the duties they owe to God. They will attend conscientiously to the pig in the sty—*not at all to their Maker in His House of Prayer.*

Devotions for a Latitudinarian—In *The Scourge* for 23 September, 1717, is a Form of Prayer suggested for use by a Latitudinarian, expressive of his Ecclesiastical and

Religious Opinions, to be said anywhere, in a coffee-house or on going to bed, with rubrical directions. We will quote the Prayer for the Church of England "to be said in a Coffee Room," and that for the Bishops "to be said going to Bed."

Rubrics.

Loll over the back of a Chair.

Turn your Wigg on one side.

Call for a dram and Tobacco.

Fill your Pipe.

Brush your Hat.

Set your Wigg.

Sneeze, if occasion.

And spit, but not with vehemence.

Call for a candle.

Light your Pipe.

FOR THE BISHOPS, to be said going to Bed about Midnight.

Have a care of falling upon your knees. Call for your night-cap and slippers.

Undress. See the Fire be safe.

Let the Church of England flourish, that is, all the different Methods of Religion in this Island; for, as the Church of Christ is the Kingdom of Christ, so the Church of England is the Kingdom of England. May she ascribe all her Glory to a Parliamentary right (And to the *Flying Post*), more than to her Purity and Innocence, either in Doctrine or Discipline.

I am an Occasional Member, and perhaps may be saved in her Bosom: But have no fear;—I have Charity, I have Tenderness for other Communions, which I believe as Pure as she, because they stand upon the same Footing and are established by Law.

I will unchurch none, they are all within the Pale: Save them all; Comprehend them all: Reform the Liturgy; and instead of a Superstition to Creeds, Articles and Canons, Erect Sincerity and Morality, to be Christian Virtues!

Confound the Pope, convert the Turk, pull down Dagon, and set up thyself! Indulge thou Occasional Conformity; Dispense with the Schism Act: bless the Academies: Look sharply to the Convocation; and all for the sake of —. AMEN.

I pray not for the Prelates, but for the Bishops, the Superintendents, the Overseers of the Flock, and in them for the Presbyters and the Presbyterians too.

Give them money to make them hospitable to poor converted sinners.

Give them Grace not to Lord it over the Presbyters their Equals.

Put out the candle.

Doze.

Nodd.

Close your Eyes.

Give them Humility, that they **may** remember the poor, the meek, the despised Fishermen and Tent-makers, from whom they pretend to descend ; and that they may stand more upon MODERATION and CHARITY, than upon a long-winded Welsh Pedigree of UNINTERRUPTED SUCCESSION from the Lord Almighty knows who.

Make all thy People Priests and Prophets, that our young men may see Visions, and our Old Men dream Dreams. Good night. AMEN.

Here is a form of prayer suitable for any occasion, expressive of all that a Latitudinarian in George I's time or in that of George V can desire.

" O give me Grace, it is Grace I want (i.e. of which I am destitute). Grant me a City House and a Country House. May I always live Absolutely and properly, in such a manner, and to such a degree. May my Lot fall in the Southern Parts of Great Britain, where the Air is moderate ; and may I never be forced (God bless his Royal Highness) into the Principality of North Wales. I confess I am unworthy of these Blessings, and so I have always been :¹ Let me always escape my Deserts, and give me what I do not deserve, for the sake of myself, my Wife and Children. AMEN."

The Recovery of Conscience—We may be allowed to resume what was said before relative to the important result of the Doctrine of Probity enforced by the Latitudinarians. It has been too much the way with Churchmen, both High and Low, to disparage the Latitudinarians. They had their faults, they were defective in their doctrinal teaching, but most effective in their moral teaching ; and that was precisely of supreme importance at the moment. The mischief done to the conscience of men during one hundred years had to be repaired. The springs of morality governing the mechanism and action of life, that had been dislocated, had to be readjusted. Under Puritan rule men were drilled

¹ This is a mere *façon de parler*. None so self-conscious of their deserts, none so sure to overestimate them as the Latitudinarian.

into paths of godliness under external pressure. What Tillotson and the rest of his school sought to effect and actually did effect was to replace in the hearts of men the motive principle directing them to seek the good and avoid the evil.

Abraham Cowley said :

The Chartreux wants the Warning of a Bell
To call him to the Duties of his Cell.
There needs no Noise at all t' awaken Sin,
Th' Adulterer and the Thief, his 'larum has within.

But the Puritans with their dogmas of Assurance, Indefectibility, Free Justification had muffled the alarum, so that it uttered no sound. It was the work of the Latitudinarians to unfold these wraps, so that conscience might ring its warning note once more, clearly.

We may regret that the Broad Church Bishops and clergy generally did not insist more fully on the doctrines of the Creed, but they took it for granted that the people were sound in the Faith ; and that what was especially cogent at the time was to rebuild the shattered Sense of Moral Responsibility.

They were so efficient in what they did undertake that the English character to-day is the product of their efforts—that an Englishman's word, all the world over, is held to be as good as his bond, that the Englishman abhors falsehood, equivocation, shiftiness, and shrinks from every act that smacks of dishonesty ; and that, if slack in recognition of his duties owed to God, he has no hesitation in acknowledging those he owes to his fellow-men.

An Opposite Current in Rome—It is a remarkable fact, but fact it is, and one well worthy of consideration, that the same century which saw the Latitudinarian labouring at the restoration of the fibre of the English conscience to the sense of Right and Wrong, to moral responsibility, should concur in time with an opposite teaching in the Latin Communion, the sapping of the foundations of truth and honesty, lying and fraud being elevated into a fine art. It is a coincidence that while in the English Church her divines were building up Christian character, the Roman authorities were pulling down the principles of morality.

Alphonso Liguori—Alphonso di Liguori, who died in 1787, left the most pestilent of all works as a heritage to his Church. In 1803 the Sacred Congregation of Rites decreed, "that in all the writings of Alfonso di Liguori, edited and unedited, there is not a word that could be justly found fault with." Pius VII ratified the decision, and proceeded, in less than thirty years after Liguori's death, to his beatification. In 1831 the Sacred Penitentiary decreed that the opinions of the Blessed Alfonso di Liguori's *Moral Theology* might be safely followed and professed. He was given the title of The Venerable by Pius VI in 1796; beatified in 1816 by Pius VII; and canonized on May 26, 1839, by Gregory XVI. He was exalted to be called a Doctor of the Church by Pius IX.

In the Bull of Canonization, Gregory announced: "Imprimis notatu dignum, quod licet copiosissime scripserit, ejusdem tamen opera inoffenso prorsus pede percurri a fidelibus posse, post diligens institutum examen perspectum fuerit."

In fact Liguori's system of Moral Theology has been formally approved by Papal Infallibility, and no effort can relieve the Roman Church of the infamy that attaches to the Chair of S. Peter through the sanction given to this abominable book. The character of Rome's moral doctrine is irrevocably tied to Liguori's teaching.

Teaching on Equivocation—The evils of Liguori's doctrine—now, be it understood, the authorized moral teaching of the whole Roman Church—are shown in the case of Equivocation. According to Liguori's Theory of Truthfulness, when a man is asked a question which could not be answered save in the affirmative, if he spoke the Truth, he would be justified in replying, "I say, No"; intending the questioner to understand that he denied the question, but meaning in his own mind simply to affirm that he is making use of the word *No* in the course of his conversation.¹ Liguori teaches—the whole Roman Church teaches—that a man may insert a *not* into an affirmative sentence, not heard so as to be understood by the other party, and that his oath is then truthful, though he means

¹ *Theolog. Moralis*, Lib. IV, 151.

to swear *No*, and the other conceives that he is swearing *Yes*.¹

Liguori teaches—the whole Roman Church teaches—that a witness in a court of justice has not only the liberty of lying, but that it is his duty to lie, if the crime about which his evidence is required is otherwise unknown.² Liguori teaches—the whole Roman Church teaches—that an adulterous wife is justified in swearing (1) that she has not broken the marriage vow (meaning to herself that the marriage has not been *legally* dissolved); (2) that she is innocent of the crime (inasmuch as since it was committed she had been absolved by a priest after confession); (3) that she had not committed adultery (meaning thereby spiritual adultery, i.e. idolatry); (4) that she had not committed adultery (meaning to herself, so as to have to tell her husband).³ If a man has seduced a maiden, such is Liguori's teaching—such that of the Roman Church whose mouth-piece he is—on the promise of marrying her, he is *not* bound to keep his promise, if he be of considerably higher birth, or if he be considerably richer, whether the victim did or did not know of any disparity between him and herself.⁴

On Lying—Liguori laid down several rules justifying a man swearing to a lie in a court of justice. One is: if he thought the judge was not justified in asking the question. Another, if he used a word of *double entendre*. Another, if he took the oath with a mental reservation. Another, if he could convince himself that he was joking when he swore.

Is it strange that the courts of justice are what they are in Spain, in Rome, in Naples? That in Ireland an accused of murder will raise his hand and call God to witness to his innocence when that hand is red with the blood of his victim?

“How do you manage,” asked Pascal, “when the Fathers of the Church happen to differ from any of you casuists?” “The Fathers,” is the reply, “were good enough for the morality of their own times, but they lived too far back for that of the present age, which is no longer regulated by them, but by the modern casuists. . . . At the

¹ *Ibid.*, Lib. IV, 168.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 162.

³ *Ibid.*, Lib. IV, 154.

⁴ IV, 644.

advent of these latter, S. Augustine, S. Chrysostom, S. Ambrose, S. Jerome, and all the rest, so far as Morals are concerned, disappeared from the stage."

Contrast—We cannot spare space to enter further on Liguori's doctrine—that, mind you, of the whole Roman Church, on Theft ; but it is equally destructive of common honesty, as his—that is to say the teaching of the whole Roman Church—is destructive of Truth, fatal to morality.

We may well be thankful that whilst the Papist laity were being taught with impunity to lie, equivocate, and commit fraud, our divines, however great were their imperfections and omissions, were building up the English conscience in abhorrence of falsehood, shiftiness, and dishonesty. Alphonso Liguori has been placed by the Roman pontiffs in the Martyrology of the Church, reckoned among those who may be invoked as Intercessors. But there is another list beside that, given in Holy Scripture—one on which greater reliance may be placed—it is a list of those who will be excluded from the Heavenly Jerusalem, and among them, assuredly, Alphonso Liguori will be found : " Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, *and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.* There shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination, *or maketh a lie.*"

II

WESLEY AND METHODISM

O heavens, what some men do
While some men leave to do.

Troil. and Cressid, III, 3.

BEFORE entering on the particulars of the sudden outcrop of Lutheran and Calvinistic religion in England we must consider how the soil was prepared for it, and how the seed was sown.

Fresh Invasion of Aliens—From the beginning of the reign of Edward VI there had been a succession of waves of Protestant refugees, nearly all Calvinists, into England, rapidly becoming naturalized, but not losing their religious opinions, or their prejudices and animosities, against everything that was Catholic, whether Primitive or Roman.

One mighty influx took place at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Beside the old French place of worship, or rather of hearing sermons, in Threadneedle Street, within fifty years eleven more Calvinistic meeting-houses had been erected in London, east of Bishopsgate Street. But when another great inrush came in 1748, it was found that most of these Conventicles had been closed, because the French and Flemish Calvinists had been absorbed into the great body of the English people. Those that remained were at their last gasp. At the present day they are reduced to two out of the twenty-six "temples" that were formerly possessed by the French Reformed in London.

Absorption into the Native Population—This was due to the fact that the descendants of these foreigners had acquired the English language, and in many instances had adopted English names. They entered the English Church, some through marriage, some for what they could get by Ordination (and the Government was far more open-handed

towards these gentry speaking broken English than they were to the poor curates of the English Church and with English tongues ; the former they knew to be Whigs, the latter were possibly Jacobites). Some of these aliens entered the Church through the attraction which a large body always exercises upon one that is small ; in the fewest cases, if any at all, out of conviction, and all brought their hereditary taint with them.

In Norwich, the last baptism in the chapel register is in 1753, and the last marriage in 1611. The last minister was weaver Le Brun, who wrote himself Brown, but he retained the charge for one year alone, 1818-19. Previously there had been a vacancy for seven years.

At Southampton the congregation of the Walloon meeting-house adopted the liturgy of the English Church in 1712. In that year a baptism is registered, "Cet enfant enregistré cy desus est le premier qui a été baptisé suivant la liturgie anglaise."

One of the pastors, Edward Dupré, was given the deanery of Jersey, but he never resided in that island. We do not know whether he went through the form of Ordination or not. Since his time there have been other Duprés who have conformed and been beneficed.

At Bristol, the French refugees began to arrive in 1687. Mme de Soyres, in a letter dated 8 March, 1838, wrote : "Some of the very old people when I came to Bristol used to say that the chapel was full to excess, the aisle filled with benches as well as the other, so that there must have been several hundreds. In 1790, when we came, the congregation never assembled to more than sixty, mostly people fond of French, or those wishing to improve." This chapel was closed in 1807, when there ceased to be any congregation at all.

At Plymouth and Stonehouse there were two Conventicles of French Protestants ; that in the former town died a natural death in 1807, that in the latter in 1791.¹

Absorbed into the English body, we find, if we look into any recent Clergy List, that numbers of French, Dutch, and German names figure in it, showing to what an extent the

¹ Burn (J. E.), *Hist. of the Foreign Prot. Refugees in England*, 1846.

descendants of the refugees have invaded the ministry. At the present day, unquestionably, many, probably most of them, have shed their Huguenot heresies and antipathies. But this was not the case with the sons and grandsons of the first aliens. And many of these men, upon their arrival, were granted rich benefices, in disregard of their lack of qualification to discharge the duties of their office, and in indifference to the needs of the congregations to which they were sent to minister—as well as to the infected condition of their theological store.

Dr. Lombard—Lanteglos with Camelford is one of the few rich livings in Cornwall. The church and rectory lie nearly two miles from Camelford, which is a market town with a population of about 1,370; and which was, and is still, left to be ministered to in holy things by dissenting preachers, as it contains neither a church nor a licensed chapel. In February, 1718, the Rev. Daniel Lombard was inducted into this living, on the presentation of the Prince of Wales, as Duke of Cornwall.

He was a Frenchman, the son of a Huguenot pastor. As if it were not sufficient to give him Camelford and Lanteglos to neglect, he was also invested with Advent. Dr. Lombard started from Exeter to reach his cure mounted on one horse, and his French servant on another. He rode thus along the highway past Launceston till he reached the Land's End, enquiring everywhere "Vere ish Lanteglos juxta Camelvore?" And everywhere received the answer, "Don't know, never heerd o' such a place."¹

The Soil Prepared—If now we consider how that for generations waves of Huguenot refugees had been flooding England, French blood entering into the veins of members of all classes, in every part of England; and further how that the Gallic character is emotional, impulsive, excitable; how that also in England, especially in Wales, Cornwall, Lancashire, and Central Yorkshire there exists a large Celtic

¹ An instance of the strength of hereditary beliefs and disbeliefs was that of Joseph Sortain, noted Dissenting minister at Brighton. He was of French Huguenot descent, bred to take pride therein. By inclination he was drawn to the Church, but felt that he must be loyal to the beliefs and prejudices of his ancestors. He never would listen to the preaching of his brother Sectarian ministers, but whenever away from observation stole into a church for divine worship.

element with blood equally inflammable, we can see that the material was present ready to catch fire the moment a match was applied to it.

But from the Restoration down to the Hanoverian period, there has been no appeal made to the emotions of the people in matters religious.

Wesley and Whitefield—Two men were destined to appear simultaneously to alter the whole aspect of religion in England, each borrowing his match from abroad, Wesley from Luther, Whitefield from Calvin. Both started as members of the Church, but both were like swordfish within its net, dashing against its meshes, not resting till they had torn great rents in it, and had not only themselves escaped through the gaps, but had also opened the way for vast numbers of those who had been in it to escape from all control.

They differed from one another in doctrine. In practice they agreed, and the results reached by both were much the same.

Epochs in Religion—There are three epochs in the life of every French woman, said Yorick. "She is a coquette,—then Deist,—then devotee." It was the same with English religion, *Religio Anglicana*. She ogled, and opened her ear to the whispers, the amorous speeches and occasional scoldings, of her Genevan *cisibeos*; then, after the Restoration, she rapidly slid through Latitudinarianism into Deism; and now she entered on her third epoch, becoming devotee.

Failure of Latitudinarianism as Spiritual Regenerator—Latitudinarianism had not attempted to act an Evangelizing part. It had risen to the top with a special mission—to check antinomianism. This it had done in a fashion. It had directed its efforts to convince the reason, and had left the heart out of consideration. It brought no message to the weary and heavy laden, no comfort to the broken-hearted, no hope to the sinner burdened with the consciousness of his transgressions. The Atonement was to the Broad Churchman nothing but an awkward doctrine to be explained away. That Jesus Christ, lifted up on the Cross, could draw all men to Him was a figure of speech only. That the divine Spirit was an energizing presence leading to holiness

was not in the thoughts of a Latitudinarian. Intellectuality, not sanctity, was that at which he aimed. Sanctity in his conception was innocuousness, only positive in inculcating Duty. In the vessel of the Church Jesus Christ was conceived to be always asleep with His head upon a pillow. Should they rouse Him? God forbid. Let Him sleep on. Cover Him with a tarpaulin, lest the cries of the perishing reach His ears.

Spiritual Destitution—That which was obvious to every thoughtful man at this period was the inadequacy of the Church organization to meet the needs of the people. The parcelling out into parishes as effected by Archbishop Theodore in the seventh century remained intact in the eighteenth century. The population was enormously increased, especially round the centres of the mining and manufacturing industries, where the parish churches were small, and often, as in Cornwall, at considerable distances from where the workers were congregated. It was not enough that a church stood in each parish, when it was boxed up with appropriated pews; when the church door was locked from Sunday to Sunday, and only opened on the Lord's Day for one lengthy service consisting of three separate offices glued together. There were indeed afternoon lectures in some town churches, and perhaps an afternoon office droned out in the country houses of God; but hardly anywhere, save rarely, and that only in cathedrals, were week-day services to be found.

However desirous the clergy might have been to rectify some of the abuses of the parochial system, the bonds of the Establishment prevented the subdivision of parishes, and the building of new churches, without the passing of an Act of Parliament, and heavy legal expenses, to meet which the clergy were incapable.

The Bishops were restrained by the same considerations, and were not remarkably zealous to meet the defects of the system. They were well-intentioned; but as to intentions without acts we know whither they lead.

In his biography, Charles Wesley wrote of himself and his brother, when, as free-lances they sought to supply what was needed, that "they waited from time to time upon the

Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, soliciting their advice and sanction, and answering the reports and charges which were made to their disadvantage. These dignitaries were often at a loss how to proceed ; not liking to sanction the irregularities of the brothers, nor to deal harshly with men whose intentions were pure, and whose Churchmanship was indisputable."

Wesley takes Independent Action—It was under circumstances such as these that Wesley took upon him the bold determination to preach in the open air to spiritually underfed people, whether bishops and beneficed clergy liked it or not.

The people were perishing. The poor souls were like those drowning after a shipwreck. The crew of the official life-boat were either drunk or asleep, or else could not find the key to the padlock that chained up their vessel. Were not these unauthorized volunteers justified in pushing out in their own private smacks and flying to the rescue ?

The Prophetic Spirit—The phenomenon of the appearance at intervals of prophets occurred in Israel, in the Primitive Church, in the Middle Ages, and at the close of the Elizabethan period in England.

These manifestations of a hidden fire occur after periods of religious lassitude.

In the Georgian period lassitude oppressed the Church ; and the prophets Wesley and Whitefield were commissioned to rouse her from sleep. Like all prophets, these men were raised up for a special, but a transitory work. That work accomplished, the Breath of God passes from the individual to animate the body.

The Movement unmixed with Political Aims—" That which characterized the Revival with which we now have to deal is the fact that it was unmixed with other elements such as served to complicate that in the seventeenth century, as the desire to obtain civil and religious liberty. The movement under Wesley and Whitefield was free from such turbid admixture. It was associated with no political party, was unconnected with class aspirations, and unruffled by class antagonisms. It was religious throughout."

Degeneration—But wherever God impels and man is the

agent of His impulse human infirmity interferes to divert it to unlawful ends. If the Bible be the Word of God it is subject to the blunders of the printers, who insert, or drop out a passage, through inadvertency or partisanship; as when under the Commonwealth one edition gave to the Seventh Commandment the form "Thou shalt commit adultery."

Just as the pure sea-breeze, salt and ozonized, on the Essex coast catches up odours of decaying marine vegetable and animal remains, so also did this vigorous and bracing prophetic spirit breathing through Wesley and Whitefield become tainted with error. Each error had its special character, with which we shall deal in the sequel.

This is not theory alone. It is the assertion of a fact. The Early Church, fresh and healthy as she issued from the Upper Room at Jerusalem, soon became contaminated with error. She caught the itch of philosophizing Christian doctrine, and the ague of Manichæism, and although never faltering in her proclamation of the essential verities, had her voice muffled, and its tones altered, by the superstitious toys she put to her mouth. So now, Wesley and Whitefield were sent to rouse Christian people from sleep, but not content therewith, they led them, whilst drowsy, into schism and error.

For a century at least the emotional side of religion had been ignored. Zeal, enthusiasm had been regarded with disapprobation. The least quickening of the throb of the Church's heart was dreaded as a symptom of fever, to be reduced by the administration of lowering drugs. But such throbbings had been rare. A slow, even beating of the blood in the arteries was usual, and was regarded as essential to health.

The Cold Heart—There is a German story entitled *The Cold Heart*, in which Dutch Michael, an evil genius, is represented as depriving a peasant of his warm, palpitating organ and substituting for it a heart of stone. This is what that Dutch Michael, William of Orange, sought to achieve, through his agents Tillotson, Burnet, Tenison; and met with considerable success. The same object was pursued later by Walpole and Hoadly. Churchmen were exhorted

to wear cobble-stones behind their ribs, if they looked for ecclesiastical promotion.

Need for Spiritual Light—"Where no vision is the people perisheth," said the prophet. There had been of late no open vision. None had been looked for. None was desired. Open vision ! Save the mark ! Shut the shutters ! Pull down the blinds ! Draw the curtains ! That was the advice of the Erastian Bishops and of all such as gaped for bishoprics.

"We desire light ? God forbid. Light ? Light ! We want no more light than is sufficient to show us the way to our mouths." No wonder was it that the people perished ; that they were eager to follow any will-o'-the-wisp that flickered, regardless whither it led. No wonder was it that when the rock was smitten and the water gushed out and the streams flowed withal the people went down on their knees to drink, and bathed their dull eyes in the refreshing wave, little regardless whether at the same time they gulped down the dirt and the immature horse-leeches that the water had licked up on its way. And the Bishops stood still, stared, and asked : "Why cannot this stupid people rest content with the rations of swipes and slops that we supply ? "

Effects of the Revival—"What stands out as an unimpeachable fact is that under the teaching of Wesley, multitudes of homely English folk who hitherto had not given much heed to religion at a bound attained to what appeared to them, and what actually was, a new life, the acquisition of a new faculty, like the opening of the eyes of one who had been born blind. They may not have seen correctly, may have seen men as trees walking, nevertheless they saw, who had never seen before. They entered upon hitherto unexplored fields of experience ; they felt and thought as, in former days, they never had felt or thought." And Wesleyanism absorbed into its body thousands and tens of thousands of simple, earnest souls, which the Church had been unable to attract or to keep ; and this, because the appeal was made to the heart and not to the brain ; to the spiritual nature in man, not to his intellect. From such appeals the clergy had studiously abstained. They

had been deprecated by the Erastian and Latitudinarian prelates. These had indeed invited their hearers to the cave of Bethlehem, to argue why Christ lay in the manger, wrapped in swaddling clothes, but not to fall down before Him and to proffer their treasures. They had requested their audience to bring their camp-stools and, of course, their luncheon-baskets, and sit down before the Cross of Calvary, to discuss the advantage and the reason of the Death upon it, not to throw themselves in a passion of love and tears at its foot and look up to it for Salvation.

Thus, when Wesley uttered his cry to the heart, the soul, the graves opened and the dead came forth.

Further, when Wesley's personal power as a preacher passed away, having lost its novelty, his organization of Methodism remained and held together those who would otherwise have been dispersed. Moreover, it was a popular organization in which every member had a place and a voice. There was nothing of the sort in the Established Church, which had become an autocracy under the Crown, each diocese under its bishop, each parish under its incumbent wholly independent of the people, but usually subservient to his squire.

Defects—The revival was not, as already hinted, without its defects due to the human element in it.

The fatal blemish in Wesley's teaching lay in his making Instantaneous Conversion to be accepted as Self-absolution from all sin, much like a plenary absolution as accorded by the Pope, with this difference, that in the latter case it was given by one who pretended to be the Vicegerent of Christ, whereas in the former, every man was qualified to absolve himself. Moreover, the ebullition of excited feeling producing Conversion carried with it a tendency to be regarded as an end in itself, instead of being treated as a starting-point in a renewed spiritual career.

This Wesley did not desire, but it was a consequence inevitable from the proclamation of his doctrine. Far too many were disposed to regard the spiritual convulsion they had experienced as a crisis demanding no further effort, an experience leading to spiritual cocksureness, the very reverse of the true Christian character.

Conversion : what it is—The Romanist and the Anglican appreciate as sincerely as the Methodist the value of Conversion, but they regard it as the awakening of a sleeping, the rousing of a somnolent soul, to the responsibilities of life.

When Lazarus came forth from his grave, was loosed of the cere cloth wherewith he was bound, it was to resume the duties of his house and farm, not to be put in a van and carried about Jewry as a show, and to proclaim on a platform his sensations as vital warmth and powers returned, and what had been his experiences as a corpse.

Unspirituality—Who does not know individuals, honest, amiable, but not conspicuously religious, who appear as incapable of responding to spiritual appeals as a harpsichord is incapable of uttering a sound when devoid of wires. The shell of the instrument is there, perhaps inlaid with coloured wood, with the sound-board elegantly fretted, but strike the ivory notes as strongly and as often as one will there is no musical response. But no human soul is without its strings ; the wires are there, but so muffled that they cannot vibrate. Conversion is the removal of these mufflers, so that they answer to the touch.

The conversion of a soul, according to Orthodox doctrine, is the revelation to that soul of spiritual faculties of which it was previously unconscious, and that these faculties may be actively employed for spiritual as well as for moral advance.

If he who has an unmusical ear, and is incapable of distinguishing the air of Yankee-Doodle from that of the National Anthem, becomes of a sudden musically sensitive to sweet melody and rich harmony, to "The Last Rose of Summer" and a Beethoven sonata, it is for him to actively prosecute this art now rendered possible of acquisition, and from a pleasure advance to pursuit. It is not for him to rest where he is, and say with the gorged German after a meal, as he thrusts his plate from him, "Jetzt bin ich satt!"

Conversion accordingly in the Catholic sense is one thing, in that adopted by Wesley's disciples, though discountenanced by himself, quite another thing.

Schism—In the next place, Wesley did not realize that he was leading the way to a schism. He studiously shut

his eyes to what was obvious to everyone else. He did not recognize, nor did his disciples subsequently recognize, that the phenomenon of prophetism was bound to be transitory, that its fire would be evanescent and leave behind it cinders slowly but certainly cooling. In the endeavour to perpetuate the movement a schism was provoked; and every schismatical body inevitably splits into many splinters.

Individualism, Prophetism—The essence of Prophetism is to be individualistic; and the prophet, intoxicated with his sense of power and conscious of his own real call, is disposed to presume and take too much upon himself. Moses said, Must *we* bring you water out of the rock? The prophet submits to no control. Independence of action is essential to him. He is and must be a law to himself. In Israel a prophet did not scruple to lie¹ when it suited his convenience, like him of Bethel, who for the sake of a gossip—on religious topics of course—over his lunch, with another prophet, feigned to have received a message from Jehovah, authorizing him to arrest this man's journey.

"The prophets prophesy falsely, and the people love to have it so," we are told; and the prophets so prophesied for the sake of retaining their popularity.

When the author was in Yorkshire a neighbouring parish church was attended by the family of a noble lord from the Hall. Opposite the pulpit was a clock. By tacit understanding, the vicar's sermon was not to last beyond a quarter of an hour. The moment the text was given out every eye in the manorial pew was directed to the clock. Should the sermon exceed the quarter of an hour by three to five minutes, during the rest of the week no presents of fruit, fish, game arrived at the parsonage.

The same was the experience of the prophets, translated into the terms of their age, the subject of the prophecy being matter of dispute, not the length of the lecture. Even in the lifetime of S. Paul, prophesying had fallen into disrepute in

¹ The prophet could and did lead into idolatry (Deut. xiii, 1, 2; xviii, 20). It was when a prophet got out of hand that the words of Agamemnon to Menelaus in *Iphigenia in Aulis* were true:

Ag. : "The whole race of prophets is an ambitious evil."

Menelaus replied : "And in naught good or profitable, even when in hand."

This was carrying scepticism a little too far.

the nascent Church, and he was constrained to exhort the Thessalonians not to despise it. S. Chrysostom's commentary on the passage is, that the reason of disparagement was that there had sprung up a number of impostors, so that the faithful were incapable of distinguishing the truly inspired from those who affected inspiration, till after the event, when, of course, the prophecy had lost all its initial value.¹ But the prophets did not only foretell, they went into rhapsodies of religious fervour, and harangued. Even so, they were regarded with coldness, for they had become veritable religious nuisances. Such was the deacon Glycerius, who gave S. Basil so much trouble, tearing about the country—an early itinerant preacher—attended by a troop of enthusiastic girls; or like the two frenzied women, Prisca and Maximilla, who seduced Tertullian into Montanism. All these are alike, male and female, gesticulating, mouthing, as the oracles of God, restrained by none. *They* are in the right, all who differ from them are in the wrong, and will be damned. *They* know the truth by direct inspiration. Scripture must be twisted and tortured to

¹ Lucian in his *Alexander or the False Prophet* shows how that the Pagan world swarmed with these scoundrels. Alexander, by his self-confidence and his assurance, his apparent integrity, deceived many, and yet was at bottom a consummate hypocrite. Inevitably there was an overflow of these impostors into the Christian Church, and S. Chrysostom explains "the discernment of spirits" as the faculty accorded to some to distinguish the genuine prophets from the rogues. One of Alexander's performances was the "speaking with unknown tongues." As Alexander's prophecies were obscurely worded, he maintained an army of interpreters. Some of Alexander's words in an unknown tongue were, "Morfi abaxgulis ehnenchieranc sabbarbaichu malach altis." The Irvingite speakers in unknown tongues uttered equal nonsense, in our days.

Lucian's tract on Alexander was addressed to Celsus, the antagonist of Origen, who wrote against Celsus his "Apology for Christianity."

It is, however, clear that the Gift of Tongues was not a jabber of unintelligible sounds, but was a gift of practical utility. Thus in the Syriac *Teaching of Addæus* there is a passage giving as one of the signs by which "the Gospel winged its way through all the earth," that "those who were Hebrews, and knew only the language of the Hebrews in which they were born, lo! at this day are speaking in all languages in order that those who are afar off may hear and believe, even as those who are near."

When Ephræm Syrus came to S. Basil he spoke in the Greek language, through the power of the Holy Ghost; and the latter, in ordaining him Deacon, was suddenly gifted with a knowledge of the Syriac. Ephræm actually wrote a discourse on the Gift of Tongues.

It is, however, evident from the reserve with which S. Chrysostom writes relative to this charisma that it had almost disappeared in his day; and that there was not a little danger prevalent from impostors pretending to have received it.

agree with their utterances, or be rejected altogether. So they start as prophets and end as schismatics.

"The god," says Socrates in Plato's dialogue *Ion*, "seems purposely to have deprived all prophets of every particle of reason and understanding, the better to adapt them to their employment as his ministers and interpreters."

To the present day in the East a maniac is regarded as one divinely inspired, and his ravings as prophecies.¹

The errors and follies into which fall modern interpreters of prophecy are quite as great as were the errors and follies of those in Early Christianity who ran after the self-appointed prophets; the results much the same.

In Advent, 1826, assembled a School of the Prophets at Albury, the house of Mr. Henry Drummond, all united by one common curiosity about the hidden things of prophecy and the Apocalypse; and all arrived at the conclusion that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent; and as one of the signs preceding it was to be a miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost, they took, in Mr. Edward Irvine's meeting-house, to shout and utter unintelligible words, which it was confidently asserted were the gift of tongues restored. Moreover, the exposition of the ancient prophecies was revealed to these elect saints. On one occasion, when the news arrived of Napoleon's downfall, and of the death of his little son, the King of Rome, one of the conclave at Albury, then in session, sprang from his seat, exclaiming, "That can't be true! that would overturn the whole interpretation!" and when on the morrow the fact was established beyond doubt, this interpreter of prophecy took to his bed from sheer vexation.

It need hardly be said that all such interpretations have proved vain. Dr. Wolff had been one of the School of the Prophets at Albury, and there he had foretold the coming of Christ, and Restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land on a certain date. This was past, unfulfilled, and in India

¹ When Dr. Wolff was returning from his second expedition to Bokhara in a certain town he was surrounded by an insulting and menacing crowd. He at once feigned to be mad. Habited as he was in his black preaching gown and scarlet doctor's hood, he began to dance and fling out arms and legs, uttering with a bellow spiritual exclamations. The mob fell back awestruck, and with deep reverence endeavoured to catch and treasure up his prophetic sayings.

he was twitted with the failure. In his frank way, he replied to the taunts: "I prophesied because I was a jackass." Most of the Irvingite prophets whose prognostications had been falsified must have been similarly impressed, but they had not the honesty to declare with Wolff, "We were jackasses."

Intensive or Diffusive Christianity—In the Christian world Religion is either *intensive* or *diffusive*. It has ever been the characteristic tendency of the prophets to check diffusion; and it has been their weakness to insist on intensive religion as the sole religion that counts, not as being one form, and that possibly the noblest, of religion generally. By buffets and pinches they would keep, not sluggards only, but every individual, in prolonged wakefulness, as Hopkins, the Witchfinder, allowed his victims no sleep till they went mad or became stupid. It was so with the founders of the Religious Orders in the Middle Ages. Their fervour glowed at a white heat, and shot its rays throughout Christendom. But in a generation it died down to sparks. Molten lava poured forth in fire speedily cools and becomes rock.

The highest type of religion possibly is that which is inmost, and fervent; but it is the most ephemeral. Christianity as an all-embracing religion is not for the few but for the many, not for extatics alone, but for prosaic humanity as well. The vast bulk of mankind is by nature inapt for soaring into spiritual raptures, but is calculated to exhibit those social and domestic virtues without which family and society could not exist. It will accept the verities of the Creed, but will not fret itself as to the How and Why of every doctrine. It will pursue an orderly, moral, and honest life, but feels no call to inhabit a hermitage in the rocks and live on roots, never wash, and pasture vermin. At every period have appeared highly electrified individuals, whose hair stands on end, and from whose finger-tips sparks are emitted sufficient to kindle a gas-jet. But, happily, the generality of men are not such, or there would be no friendly shaking of hands.

Throughout the Hanoverian period Christianity was in diffusion, so diffuse in fact as to have become utterly

shallow. It was passive and not active, and it needed galvanizing by the prophets to make it energetic.

Saints : their Function—Saints or Prophets, call them which you will, are born, not made ; like geniuses, artists, musicians, poets, cooks. That is to say, the faculty to become Saints is lodged in certain natures, as is the faculty to paint portraits, compose operas, write lyrics, send up a *friand ragoût*. Such capabilities are not diffused among the many, but are concentrated in the few ; and their presence in our midst is calculated to quicken dormant, undeveloped powers within the breasts of such as can appreciate, but cannot create.

Was the Church designed by its Founder to consist of a Conventicle of Saints, a Mutual-admiration Society, an aerodrome of High-flyers,—and of them alone ? Or was it to be a power, converting the world, not into a clique of bigots, a school of prophets, but into a vast homogeneous body of honest, decent-living, kind-hearted, Good Fellows ? It is true that the Lord in the Gospel had a word for the saints, those especially called, Go, sell all that thou hast, and come, and follow Me ! but this is addressed to the select few alone.

The Gospel is calculated to meet the requirements of two distinct classes of persons—the Prophets or Saints, and those to whom the Prophets are sent, to whom the Saints are commissioned to act as stimulants. The atmosphere is a combination of oxygen and azote. So also is Society. If we inhaled the former gas alone, we should burn out in an hour, if we breathed the latter alone, we should not burn at all.

The parable of the leaven hid in five measures of meal shows what was to be the general operation of the Gospel.

Give and Take—If the Church is to leaven the world there must ensue Give and Take on both sides. Christianity cannot exact universal asceticism, and Society must abandon popular vices. If, in the end, our Christianity is not at high pressure, and tolerates much which is not wicked but mere pastime ; on the other hand, Society has inhaled a vast amount of the Christian spirit, which gives to it inward self-restraint and outward decency.

The Early Fathers, in their exaggerated zeal for reality and simplicity, condemned in women the use of dyed woollen garments because the sheep did not run about wearing scarlet or saffron fleeces. In a few years the priests and prelates were themselves vested in purple and crimson.

Religion, Exclusive and Inclusive—Over and over again have enthusiasts sought to constitute a red-hot *exclusive* nucleus, whereas true Christianity is *inclusive*. Over and over again have attempts been made to narrow the borders of the Church, so that it should comprise the Saints alone, and as certainly have they failed. Sooner or later a relaxation of restraint ensues, and a sneaking return to a tolerant society has occurred. In the words of a former Bampton Lecturer, "Christianity fails in proportion as it tends to remain limited and exclusive ; and succeeds in proportion as it tends to widen its influences over all classes and individuals, and all departments of life."

John Wesley—John Wesley, ordained in 1726, began his marvellous career of itinerant preaching at the age of thirty-six, and it was estimated that before his death in 1791 he had travelled over 225,000 miles, and had preached 40,000 sermons. John and his brothers Charles and Samuel were the sons of Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, and were the grandsons of one who had been ejected from his living in 1662 for nonconformity.

His first religious impressions were received from the writings of William Law and Bishop Jeremy Taylor.

At Oxford he, his brother Charles, and Whitefield, belonged to a society formed on the model of those existing all over England, and which were very numerous in London. The nickname of Methodist was applied to the little confraternity because the members observed a more disciplined and more methodical rule of life than was general. The members were strictly Churchmen, and Whitefield says that he "was strongly pressed to follow their good example when he saw them go through a ridiculing crowd to receive the Holy Eucharist at S. Mary's." At all periods till the very end of his career, nothing would have so filled John Wesley with horror as the thought that he was tearing the seamless robe of Christ and establishing a schism outside of

the Church, invested in some of its tatters. But in 1735, when in Georgia, he fell under the influence of the Moravians, and after his return to England in 1737, he attached himself to them, and even paid them a visit at their head-quarters in Herrnhut. It was due to his having been brought in contact with the Moravian teacher, Peter Böhler, that he became a convert to the Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification, "made in Germany," and which he afterwards regarded as the fundamental basis of Christianity, *The Gospel*, in the jargon of the Sect.

His Doctrine—"From Böhler," says Mr. Lecky, "he first learned to believe that every man, no matter how moral, how pious, or how orthodox he may be, is in a state of damnation, until, by a supernatural and instantaneous process, wholly unlike that of human reasoning, the conviction flashes upon his mind that the sacrifice of Christ has been applied to him, and has expiated his sins; that this supernatural and personal conviction or illumination is what is meant by Saving Faith, and that it is inseparably accompanied by an absolute assurance of Salvation, and by a complete domination over sin. It cannot exist where there is not a sense of pardon of all past and of freedom from all present sins. It is impossible that he who had experienced it should be in serious and lasting doubt as to the fact, for its fruits are 'constant peace—not one uneasy thought.'"¹

This was the sum of Böhler's teaching, as adopted by Wesley, and given in his *Journal*. (1) When a man has a living faith in Christ then he is justified. (2) This is always given in a moment. (3) And in that moment he has peace with God. (4) Which peace he cannot have without knowing that he has it. (5) And, being born of God, he sinneth not. (6) Which deliverance from sin he cannot have without knowing that he has it.

As the "United Brethren," so the Moravians call themselves, adhere to the Augsburg Confession, they are an offshoot of Lutheranism. And this doctrine is undiluted Lutheranism.

Lecky (W. E. H.), *Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Cent.*, 1883, II, p. 558.

Justification—Justification is the application to oneself of faith, not the mere possession of it. Every pious Romanist has a profound and deeply rooted faith in God, a complete reliance on His mercy, trust in His revelation, repose in His promises, and would not hesitate to die at the stake for his faith. But this is worthless, according to Luther and Wesley. Faith to justify must be sensibly applied, like a diachylon adhesive heart-plaster on the chest. Faith must not only be possessed, but it must stick and be felt. It is the *feeling* that justifies, not the possession.

Imputed Righteousness—With the dogma of Free Justification in the Lutheran sense went that of the Imputation of Christ's merits, covering over all human depravity. This doctrine had been advocated by the Puritans under James I, and it was harped on as an essential verity of the Gospel by Wesley and Whitefield alike.

With relish, Joshua, the High Priest, clothed in filthy garments, was marched out, on whose head was placed a fair mitre, and about whose shoulders was hung a bejewelled mantle, as though this represented the process of man's regeneration by faith. The passage in Zechariah, in fact, had nothing whatever to do with the individual soul.

Bishop Patrick, after the Restoration, had recoiled from the immoral tendency of the doctrine of Imputed Righteousness, as deadening sensibility to the heinousness of sin.

He wrote that it reminded him of an idle, worthless servant, who slouches about all day, does no work, relying on the goodness of his Master, who has himself done all that was requisite ; and at the end of the day, shuffles up to his employer, and demands full payment for a day's work. In his book, *The Pilgrim*, 1664, he says : " There is not a soul so wicked but fancies all his sins are covered by Christ's righteousness. It is the sweetest thing in the world to cast themselves into Christ's arms and expect, not to go, but to be carried to heaven."

The dogma of Imputation Unreasonable—The idea of the imputation to Christ of man's transgressions is none other than a perversion of the Gospel and an outrage on common sense. What we mean by Sin is a revulsion of man's will and conduct from the right into a wrong direction,

and certain practical consequences that ensue therefrom. If a man is walking along a tow-path with his eyes shut, ten chances to one that he will fall into the canal. It is in consequence of his folly that he gets a ducking.

Sinfulness is a condition due to a cause, having its result. Now which is to be transferred to Christ? The cause? That is not possible, it is entirely personal, a more or less aberration from the King's Highway. The Consequences? There are two, the offence offered to God, and the results of misery and pain accruing to man. As to the offence offered to God, that man extinguishes by his own repentance. A broken and contrite heart the Eternal Father will not despise. As to the painful consequences in this world man must endure them himself. If a man has become a drunkard he cannot transfer his attack of d.t. to his wife's uncle.

If a player touches the wrong notes on a piano he cannot impute the jarring chords due to his false fingering to the composer of the piece of music he is rendering.

And if the consequences in this life, the cold caught from a fall into the canal, the attack of delirium tremens, the jar to the nerves by the false chord, cannot be transferred as to its responsibility to another person, so neither can the consequences of sin be transferred. And if not in this life, how can we suppose that they will be in the world beyond the grave? Surely the teaching of our Lord is that every man is, and will be, held responsible for his own words and deeds; but that the offence against Almighty God may be wiped away, by his own contrition, and by that alone. There is a story told by Cæsarius of Heisterbach of a little scholar who was so troubled by his sins that he went to confession, but could not speak for his sobbing. Then said the priest, "You have a little slate. Write on it the confession you are powerless to relate." The child obeyed, but as he wrote the tears distilled and dribbled over the tablet, which when filled he handed to the confessor.

The old man raised the tablet
To read what there was set,
But could not, for the writing
Was blotted with the wet.

Then turn'd the aged Confessor
Towards the kneeling boy,
With countenance all shining
In rapture of pure joy.

"Depart in peace, forgiven,
Away with doubting fears!
Thy sins have all been cancell'd
By the torrent of thy tears."¹

The Evangelical talks of imputing his sins to Christ. To impute to another is to shift responsibility.² That is to say he would make Christ responsible for the iniquities he has committed. But to make Christ responsible is to make Him the author and contriver of these iniquities. The pianist can only transfer responsibility for his bad playing of a passage to the composer if that same composer has made a musical mistake in the score.

The man who tumbles into the canal can justly lay the blame on another if that other had blindfolded him, and tied his hands behind his back; not otherwise.

It is quite true that the Apostle says that Christ was made sin for us.³ But how so? He explains: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree."⁴ Christ was made Sin and accursed *in the eye of the Mosaic law, not in the sight of God*. He was sin and a curse to the Scribes and Pharisees who passed by, wagging their heads, but in the sight of God the Father He was the Well-Beloved Son made perfect by obedience even to the death of the Cross.

The Original Meaning of certain Pauline Terms—In order to understand S. Paul's argument it is essential that we should know in what sense he employed such words as "to justify" and "Justification." And for this purpose the Greek writings of the Jews of his and previous times by a century or so need to be studied. This has been very

¹ *The Silver Store*, after Cæsarius of Heisterbach, lib. ii, c. 10. A similar story is in Jacopo Passaventi (d. 1357), *Specchio della vera Penitenza*.

² Adam was the first to impute his fall to God. "The woman whom Thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree and I did eat" (Gen. iii, 12). So did Eve impute her transgression to the Serpent. This sneaking out of responsibility, Luther, Calvin, Wesley, etc., raised into a doctrine of Life.

³ 2 Cor. v, 21.

⁴ Gal. iii, 13.

thoroughly done by the Rev. E. J. Watson Williams in his *St. Paul's Doctrine of Justification* (J. & J. Bennett), 1912. By means of the Septuagint, and the Wisdom-books and Apocryphal Apocalypses, with which the Apostle was familiar, we arrive at the meaning of *δικαιοῦν* and *λογίζεσθαι δίκαιοσύνην* as employed by the Apostle, and ascertain that the former word does *not* mean "righteous in the sight of God," but "qualified to become righteous." And the latter signifies "To qualify a man so as to render him capable of salvation."

For the true meaning of words and expressions used by the Apostles we must not look to Classic Greek, but to that Macedonic Greek employed in the Septuagint and the Jewish Apocrypha. It was this provincial Greek which was generally diffused in the East from Egypt to the Euphrates; and it was in this dialect that the New Testament was written. "The Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and Cappadocia, in Pontus, and Asia (Proconsular), Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya and Cyrene, the strangers of Rome, the proselytes, Cretes and Arabians" knew the prophets and psalms and hexateuch only through the translation of the Seventy; and, in fact, the Christian Church knew them only through that version for three hundred years, till the time of S. Jerome. It is to the Septuagint that S. Paul and others owed such words as *πίστις*, *μετάνοια*, *λύτρωσις*, *σωτηρία*, *ἀγιασμός*, *δικαιοσύνη*, κ.τ.λ., and we are bound to understand the use of these words in the New Testament, by the way in which they had been employed in the Septuagint.

Rabbinic Theory of Justification—The Rabbis had formulated two doctrines: (1) That all the progeny of Adam was evil, and incapable of salvation. (2) That Capacity to be saved was obtainable through strict observance to the Law by those who had been circumcised. This was the sole qualification.

S. Paul accepted the first point without demur; but he rejected the second. According to him, Christ, by His death, had taken away the Law of Ordinances, nailing it to His Cross, and as a substitute, so as to make men *qualified* to

“work out their own salvation with fear and trembling,” they must have Faith.

Pauline Doctrine of the same—In other words : By Baptism into Christ every man is “entered” for the spiritual race. It does not follow that he will reach the goal and win the prize, but he is qualified to run. “Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize ? So run that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown ; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly ; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air, but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection : lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.”¹

S. Paul himself had gone through the phase of Rabbinic qualification for salvation. As he said to Agrippa : “My manner of life from my youth, which was at first among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all the Jews ; which knew me from the beginning, if they would testify, that after the most straitest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee.”² And in his Epistle to the Philippians : “If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might trust in the flesh, I more : Circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews ; as touching the righteousness which is in the Law, blameless.”³

With his Conversion, Paul passed out of bondage to the Law as a condition for obtaining salvation, into Faith as the qualification. This is the condition in which he now was, as he tells the Philippians : his heart’s desire was “to be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the Law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness (i.e. the qualification for salvation) which is of God by faith : that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death : if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. *Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect : but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not*

¹ 1 Cor. ix, 24-7.

² Acts xxvi, 4-5.

³ Phil. iii, 4-6.

myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."¹

Not till the close of his life on the eve of his martyrdom did Paul dare to express Assurance. "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day."²

The Lutheran Doctrine contrary to Paul's Teaching—How totally contrary is that teaching from that of the Evangelicals!

The Evangelical doctrine of Justification reposes on a false rendering of S. Paul's words, a perversion of his teaching. As Mr. Watson Williams says: "The verb *δικαιοῦν* does *not* mean to reckon righteous, but to make qualified.

. . . It is not an acquittal of a person or persons who ought to be pronounced guilty, but an appointment of a qualification which God will accept. Apart from such appointment on God's part no qualification is possible."

S. Paul's Real Doctrine—Not only is it demonstrable that at the time when the Apostle wrote, in the use of the Greek words by Jewish writers those crucial terms meant "qualified for salvation," and "qualification so as to be eligible for salvation"; and *not* assurance of salvation through imputed righteousness:

Held Traditionally. Taught in every Church School—But also—in the next place the primitive, nay, the entire Catholic Church in all ages has understood S. Paul's words in the sense in which he used them; and this teaching has been continuous. And finally, it is in this sense that every child who learns his Catechism learns also—that his Salvation is *conditional* on his observance of the Moral Law, and on his maintenance of a right belief.

The Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification is a total subversion of Christian and Pauline and Gospel doctrine, due to misinterpretation of certain Greek words. This is not theory, it is Fact.

As has been already pointed out, Luther's doctrine is that on which the Romanist practice of Indulgences is based.

¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 9–11.

² 2 Tim. iv, 8.

You do not alter a wine by changing the label affixed to the bottle.

Justification by Faith alone. What it is—Words, expressions, in Theology, once intelligible enough, have come to be distorted out of their original and proper meaning, so that it exacts of us a mental effort to recover the signification it and they possessed when first employed.

We have seen what the words meant in Hellenistic Greek when S. Paul employed them, which have since been given so false a signification. We will glance at their use by Greek classic writers, and we shall not find that they gave to them the meaning that did Luther and do still the Evangelicals.

The Term Justification—We will start with Justification. Justification is the making righteous or just ; δεκαίωμα is the amendment of a wrong ; and the Just man, according to Plato, is he who is righteous and true in all his dealings with his fellow-men. Consequently, to justify δικάω is really “to make right.” Justification, accordingly, is neither more nor less than rectification of that which was crooked ; the making a man of distorted morals become in all his conduct, all his acts, in all his speech, upright, honest, truthful. As Aristotle says : “A man becomes just by doing just actions.” It is *not* an exterior application, covering up man’s imperfections and perversity, to be put on like a great-coat, it is his radical, inner transformation ; not a change in appearance, but in fact ; and this revolution can only be seen by his acts. This, one would suppose, is obvious to the man of common sense. As Glauco said in Plato’s *Republic* : “The most complete injustice is to seem just without actually being so.”¹

The just or righteous man is he who is after God’s own heart, whose mind is directed to things honest, just, pure, lovely, to whatsoever things are of good report ; whose will is conformable to the will of God ; who is just in all his dealings with his fellow-men, sincere in purpose, and truthful in speech. It was to be such that God created man.

¹ In the “Plutus” of Aristophanes the Just Man is he who lives and acts righteously, not he who assumes to be just and is a fraud. The Classic Greek words mean “the making just.” The Hellenistic Greek mean “qualifying to become just.” This is the difference. Neither affords any grounds for the meaning given to them by Luther.

It is to restore man, lapsed therefrom, that Christ came, and the Gospel was preached.

The Justifier—When a man has distortion of vision the oculist is summoned to set his eyes right.

When a man has a twisted foot and hobbles the surgeon is called in to rectify the distorted joint, so that he may be enabled to walk nimbly.

When a man's affairs are in confusion the steward is requested to bring them into order, so that thenceforth receipts and outgoings may balance.

When a man has lost his way in a wilderness he hails a guide to set him right.

What is the work of the oculist, chiropodist, accountant, and guide to man's physical and material life, that Christ is to his moral and spiritual life : not, be it understood, to disguise the evil, but to cure it.

Faith—To summon oculist, surgeon, steward, guide to his aid man must have trust in him he calls in. This trust is faith. And Christ is the great healer, restorer, guide, in Whom man desirous of rectification must have full confidence.

And this rectification by Christ we call Justification by Faith : a process of recovery to which man submits himself through the rest of his life.

Free Justification—But if he who squinted, after the operation, persists in reading with the newspaper to his nose, he will again become oblique in vision.

If the man whose ankle has been reset will attempt to dance on a tight-rope he runs the risk of a fall and being again crippled. If a man whose accounts have been regulated will launch forth into fresh extravagances he will become a bankrupt. If the man who had lost his way, and had been set right, will again straggle from the path he will become a vagabond. Consequently oculist, surgeon, steward, and guide lay strict injunctions on the man they have assisted to obey the rules laid down for him to observe. He asks no other fee—than that alone. So Christ, as our Justifier, requires of us no more than observance of the regulations He has laid down. In a word His is Free Justification.

Through Faith Alone—Justification is through Faith alone.

This does not mean, and it cannot mean, that the man desirous of being justified is required to have confidence in the Great Physician, and to neglect his prescriptions and disregard his injunctions. It means, on the contrary, that by obedience and trust he will be enabled to attain to perfect moral and spiritual health. This is reasonable and simple. It is in accordance with Common Sense, and it gives to the words employed by S. Paul the meaning that had been acquired by them through use by Plato and Socrates and Aristotle, and had this meaning, as it were, stereotyped. Not only so, but gives to the words Righteousness and Justification the meaning in which employed by S. Paul's contemporaries, and which is *not* that attributed to them by Luther.

What Justification is not—Having thus briefly explained what Justification by Faith *is*, we are in a position to consider *what it is not*.

Rectification of life or Justification, as we have seen, involves a constant effort, a persistent advance along the Path of Righteousness ; and this exacts continuous watchfulness and self-restraint, never intermitted.

Men have repeatedly striven to evade this obligation, and to obtain Eternal Blessedness on easier terms.

Evasions—In the Medieval Church such evasions were commonly practised, and were craftily devised by the Papacy and by some of the Monastic Orders for their own purposes. Such were, a visit to an indulgenced image, a licking of the floor before the altar, the wearing of a scapular, or the cord of S. Francis, a gabbling over so many Aves on the beads, a butchery of so many heretics or infidels—all these were methods devised to enable men to shirk the inconvenience of strenuous moral self-restraint.

There was indeed a means of recovery and of Restitution exercised by the Church : Confession of Sin and Absolution. But in this case pardon for transgression was *Conditional*. It required sincere contrition for the past and purpose of amendment for the future. It was because of this irksome proviso that the “dodges”—no better word suits them—

were devised by the Popes to delude men into belief that they had squared their account with God without having entailed on themselves the obligation to amend their lives.

Luther's scheme of Free Justification by Faith alone was another contrivance with the same object in view—a dodging of irksome duties.

Neither one scheme nor the other is of the slightest moral advantage. Neither conduces towards man's rectification of life, and restoration to what he was when called into being.

Reality and Appearance—According to Luther, Justification does not consist in making a man honest, truthful, temperate, but in a fallacious assumption of an appearance of honesty, truthfulness, and temperance, borrowed from Christ, and which disguises him, as chalking a negro from head to foot might serve to make him pass as a European. Plato, in his *Republic*, would have taught that this is a fraud. And Luther dared to assert that the Almighty not merely connived at a fraud, but actually devised it.

This is the doctrine of Imputation of Righteousness so thoughtlessly adopted by Wesley, and which was glibly preached by the Evangelical Fathers. There exists a set of professional rogues who catch common sparrows, and by dyeing their feathers and staining their feet and beaks, pass them off as valuable birds. And, veritably, Luther had the temerity to represent the Almighty as guilty of a like fraud. What says the man of common sense to this?—He makes the very answer that Plato made to the Thrasy-machus, Glauco, and Adimantus of his day: "Let us have the real thing, and not the make-believe."¹

Justification according to Luther—It is important at

¹ Here is a specimen of the teaching of Imputed Righteousness by Spurgeon. It is taken from a sermon entitled, "Sweet Comfort for Feeble Saints." "Remember, poor tried saint, you are just as much justified as any other child of God. I *know* that I am completely justified.

His blood and righteousness

My beauty are, my glorious dress.

I want no other garments, save Jesus' doings, and His Imputed Righteousness. The boldest child of God wants no more: and I, who am 'less than the least of all saints,' can be content with no less, and I shall have no less. Oh, ready to halt! thou art as much justified as Paul, Peter, John the Baptist, or the loftiest saint in heaven. There is no difference in that matter."

this point that the doctrine of Luther which was adopted in its main points by Wesley should be understood ; and we offer no apology for analysing it.

It sprang from this root. Luther had felt, and had suffered from, the consciousness that all his best efforts to serve God were defective. Perfection in the service of God was not possible. Thereupon, in his impatience, he exclaimed, " I cannot do it, for my nature is sinful. As I cannot do it, there can be no necessity for my trying to please God. I give it up as an unprofitable attempt." Then he discovered, or fancied he had discovered, a short cut to Holiness, and that was Justification by Faith, the imputation of his sins to Christ, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness to himself. According to him, Faith has nothing whatever to do with the transformation of a man's life. It does not rectify, ennoble, purify the Christian : it simply clothes him externally with the sanctity of Christ. Thus, the effect of Faith on the recipient is not to inspire him with a spiritual mind. Sin, by being a transmitted inability in man to do anything that is good, cannot hurt him ; he is not responsible for it, so long as he is clothed with Christ's sanctity. Both Luther himself and some of his disciples were uneasy at feeling that, although they were justified and invested in Christ's righteousness, there remained in them bad propensities, breaking out into evil acts. Luther bade his hearers not concern themselves thereat. " Thou, brother, wishest to have visible righteousness ; that is, thou wishest to feel righteousness as thou feelest sin : this cannot be. Thy justification must transcend the sense of sin, and make thee *believe* that thou art righteous in God's sight. Thou must not judge according to thy sense of sin, which terrifies and disturbs thee ; but judge according to the promise of faith whereby Christ is promised to thee ; who is thy perfect and eternal righteousness." " Thou sayest, I do not perceive that I have righteousness ; thou must not perceive, but *believe* that thou hast righteousness." This according to the Reformer is the great " truth " on which the Christian has to live. The believer has to think himself to be perfectly righteous, though he sees himself to be perfectly

wicked. In a word Conscience is a false guide. Man is to esteem himself a Saint, whatever his morals may be.

According to Luther, one who is conscious of being justified cannot fall away. He wrote in *De Captivitate*, "A Christian cannot, even if he will, lose his salvation by any multitude of sins, unless he ceases to believe. For no sin can damn him but unbelief alone."

Good Works Imperfect—According to general belief active Faith is shown forth in good works, these are necessarily imperfect, conscience notifies the fact. But because imperfect they are not to be discarded. The humble Christian trusts that God will accept his poor endeavours, and supplement them by the overflow of Christ's merits, where they lack. The little child brings to its father a bunch of daisies and buttercups tied up with a blade of grass. The parent does not kick the little one out of the room because the gift is worthless, but accepts it for the intention of the heart that made the oblation. The infant puts its rosy lips to the mother's cheek. She does not repudiate the offer because the kiss is wet. She hugs her darling to her heart for the sake of the expression of love, though it be, in itself, worthless.

Rejection of Good Works by Luther—Is God less charitable than man? More exacting than father and mother? Luther, conscious that human effort is necessarily inadequate, rejected *all attempt* to please God in any way. He banned the smallest effort, as liable to engender self-reliance.

Justification being impossible of achievement through human endeavour, Divine help must be obtained; and obtained it may be by man abandoning every effort to please God, and to keep His Commandments, and by casting himself unreservedly upon God. This is the act of Faith. And man by so doing relieves himself of all responsibility for his deeds. Responsibility for an act of adultery, murder, theft, is transferred to Christ. The function of Conscience, by this dogma, is completely altered. Its office is to regulate the animal-man in the choice of what is profitable, and the rejection of what is injurious to his carnal nature, as instinct governs the beasts. It has

nothing whatever to do with man's moral or spiritual conduct.

As no effort of man can please God, all man's acts being intrinsically evil, there is nothing man can do which is not worthy of damnation;—"Damnable," Luther said, not imperfect, as the Churchman would admit. Faith, whereby man is justified, is not bound up with love to God or charity. It consists in absolute personal reliance on Christ, not as helping man's infirmity. It does not assist him in endeavour after holiness; nor does it supplement his short-comings. It totally supplants all effort.

If the Reformer had contented himself with saying, Away with the Papal makeshifts, he would have done well; but when he said, Away with all Good Works, away with Repentance, away with every attempt to obey God's will and to keep His Commandments, then we cannot but see that he is substituting an extremely artificial and morally injurious system for one that is simple, natural, and conducive to good.

From Luther we learn that he who has satisfied himself that he has laid hold of the Saviour by Faith need no more make any strain after holiness, need not concern himself through fear of offending God. From the moment that he has, or fancies that he has, apprehended, his spiritual life and moral progress are arrested in their growth. So long as faith endures man can neither advance nor retrograde. This is summed up in Luther's exhortation to Melanchthon, "Sin, and sin boldly, but the more firmly believe."

Luther's letter to Melanchthon here noticed, advising him to "sin and sin boldly" is well known, but another, to Jerome Weller, is not so familiar, and may be quoted as giving the cream of his teaching relative to Justification.

"Poor Jerome Weller, you have temptations; you must get the better of them. When the devil comes to tempt you—drink, my friend, drink deeply; make yourself merry, play the fool, and sin, in hatred of the Evil One, and to play him a trick. If the devil says to you, 'You surely will not drink,' answer him thus, 'I will drink bumpers because you forbid me. I will enjoy copious potations in

honour of Jesus Christ.' Follow my example. I should neither eat, drink, nor enjoy myself at table so much were it not to vex Satan. *I wish I could discover some new sin* that he might learn to his cost that I laugh at all that is Sin, and that I do not consider my conscience as charged with it. Away with the Decalogue, when the devil comes to torment us! When he whispers in our ear . . . 'You will be damned in the next world,' that is false; I know that there is One who has suffered and satisfied for me . . . and where He is, there shall I be also."

Conscience to be Disregarded—That which Luther regards as the reproaches of Satan, and which are to be disregarded or resisted, are none other than the reproaches of Conscience, and his doctrine is: "Disregard Conscience. Commit any sin you like. It does not hurt you if you trust in Christ." That very faculty given to man to deter him from evil, Luther insists upon should be stunned and killed. *Intra Conscientiam Diabolus*, said he; *Extra Conscientiam Deus*.¹

Can one not see that such doctrine as this conduced to a hideous outburst of wickedness in all Germany where his teaching was accepted? And we can well understand his wife's piteous lamentation that now she was unable to say her prayers, whereas in the old Catholic days prayer was a delight to her. Can one not also find in Luther's teaching an explanation of the unscrupulousness, callousness to all good, to all pity, that has characterized his disciples in the recent European war? Can one wonder that Berlin should by common consent be regarded as the wickedest capital in Christendom?

Döllinger wrote relative to Luther and his doctrine on 3 July, 1888, "For my part I have a heavy charge to bring against him, namely, that by his false teaching of Imputation he has bewildered and corrupted the moral and religious conscience of mankind for two centuries."

We do not think that Wesley accepted Luther's teaching in all particulars, and his dogma in all its ramifications.

¹ Luther's doctrine on this point may be thus summed up: "Our conscience must be conscious alone of that which it does not see in us—Imputed Righteousness; totally callous and unconscious of that which it does alone see in us—Sin."

He was specially timorous relative to the Antinomianism to which it led. Although he had absorbed the main proposition, he broke from the Moravians in London on account of the tendency to immorality he thought he saw in their procedure.

Conditions—What S. Paul taught was that Salvation was conditional. But it was precisely against this qualification that men have struggled.

Predestination to Life is conditional. So is predestination to Death.

Pardon for sin is conditional. Answer to prayer is conditional. Justification by Faith is conditional.

But the contrivances of man to escape the conditions are manifold. And the last and ablest of all is to give to the words of S. Paul relative to Justification a meaning totally different from that in which he used them, so as to emancipate professing Christians from entertaining any scruple about Conditions.

It is over "Conditional" or "Unconditional" Grace, Pardon, Mercy, Acceptance, Salvation that the great and radical cleavage occurs between the Church and Dissent, as we shall see further. Whereas in every Church School children are taught that their Salvation depends on the fulfilment of certain conditions; in every Nonconformist school they are instructed in the false doctrine that Grace, Pardon, Mercy, Acceptance, Salvation are freely and unconditionally accorded.

Wesley accepted Luther's Doctrine with Limitations—Wesley most certainly did not hold that Faith should be sterile and have no energizing action on men's lives. But, unhappily, we know that many a man would prefer inheriting a fortune to earning one by the sweat of his brow. Wesley's followers said, "This doctrine of yours is not good enough for us. We want Assurance. Having tasted Conversion, we demand something more than certainty that our past sins are forgiven, we need to be convinced that we have no further need for concern about our future. We do not relish the prospect of endless battling against sin so as to reach Heaven."

In spite of all his protests, his disciples would go on to

the full measure of Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith, that led straight to Anomia, or falling short of this, to insupportable self-righteousness.

Away with Substitutes—S. Paul's doctrine was, Away with makeshifts ! Cleave to the obvious duties that make for righteousness ; and, in order to clear your vision and dissipate the clouds of error in which you have been enveloped, turn to Christ, and from Him know the truth. And knowing the truth, practise it. The teaching of S. Paul was a filling out of that of Christ, who inveighed against these very men who substituted trivialities for the weighty matters of the law. And as Moses had laid down the bases of a good life, i.e. of Justification, among the Israelites, so had Aristotle among the Greeks. Christ came, not to abolish the Law, but to confirm it ; and S. Paul preached, not to abolish the doctrine of Aristotle, but to put it on a solid basis.

Papal Substitutes—The Wittenberg Reformer had been reared under Papalism, which had confused the principle of Good Works, i.e. of Active Faith. It had given shoddy Assurances in place of genuine causes for trust, mechanical performances for the acquisition of merit or the expiation of crimes ; such as pilgrimages, scourgings, repetition of so many Aves. Two hundred days of Indulgence were granted, so late as 7 July, 1822, by Pius VII to such as should kiss the toe of a marble Virgin in San Agostino, Rome. Clusters of assassins' daggers were wont to hang about it, tokens of gratitude for the accomplishment of crimes, and of "assurance" that such crimes had been pardoned in Heaven. Seven thousand years' indulgence was accorded in Luther's days to such as should catch a glimpse of the kerchief of S. Veronica in S. Peter's, when exposed—a Byzantine painting of the seventh or eighth century on a linen clout. Nor was this substitution always innocuous. Innocent III, 17 November, 1207, offered plenary Indulgence with remission of all sins, to such as would rob the heretics of Southern France of all their possessions, and hack their bodies to death or burn them alive. The author has been in, has knelt in, the cathedral church of S. Madeleine at Béziers which was heaped up

with the bodies of seven thousand men, women, and children who had taken refuge therein, and whose throats were cut by the soldiery hoping to win Heaven thereby. At Carcassonne, where the frightened peasants of the neighbourhood had taken refuge, the Crusaders under the banner of the Papacy, directed by the Papal Legate, won thrones in Heaven and aureoles as Confessors by hanging fifty and burning alive four hundred of them. The author has been there, and, faugh ! it stank of the Papacy.

Revolt of Luther—There is a story told of Luther, whether literally true matters not, it is significant, as accurately expressing the revolt of his mind against spurious Good Works. At S. Giovanni on the Lateran are preserved the pretended marble stairs which Christ descended after the hearing before Pilate. They are of white, probably of Italian, marble, and never were in Jerusalem. An indulgence for a thousand years has been accorded by Popes to such as shall ascend these steps on their knees, reciting certain prayers. Luther sought to acquire this indulgence. "Presently he crept half-way up the staircase, when he suddenly stood erect, lifted his face heavenwards, and in another moment turned and walked slowly down again. He said that, as he was toiling up, a voice, as if from Heaven, seemed to whisper to him, 'The just shall live by faith.' He seemed awakened, as if from a nightmare, and restored to himself. He dared not creep up another step ; but, rising from his knees, he stood upright, like a man suddenly loosed from bonds and fetters, and with the firm step of a free man he descended the staircase and walked from the place."¹

When the woman in the parable had lost a piece of silver she swept diligently the house until she found it. Unhappily, Martin Luther, seeing the floor of the House of God encumbered with much dust and abundance of rubbish, swept all away, Popish trash, but with it the precious coin Active Faith, bearing on its obverse "Love and Service to God," and on the reverse, "Love and Service to Man," and cast all on the dust-heap, reserving in its place a pewter token that was not current coin.

¹ Charles (E.), *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family*, 1863.

Practically the substitution of Lutheran for Pauline Justification was the substitution of Passive for Active Faith.

S. Paul and Aristotle—To understand what S. Paul meant by Righteousness and Justification we must give to these words the sense they bore at the time, the sense in which they had been employed by Plato, Aristotle, and the philosophers—and all Greeks down to the sausage-seller were philosophisers; and not in the new-fangled sense attributed to them in the sixteenth century by theologians, imperfect Greek scholars, and looking out for some engine wherewith to upset the corrupt system of Rome.

Aristotle plainly says that it is *not* the mere performance of good acts which justifies a man, but the spirit in which they are done, just as the performance of an artistic job may be mechanical and be void of inspiration.

To be virtuous, a man must (a) know what is right for him to do; (b) must purpose in his heart to do that which is right; (c) must persevere with steadfastness of mind.

Is not this Common Sense? Is not this what the Apostle meant to teach? Is not this what the Early Fathers actually did teach?

Those, says Aristotle, are made just, or are justified, who not merely do good acts, but do them upon principle. "Yet people in general do not perform these actions, but, taking refuge in talk, flatter themselves that they are philosophizing, and that in so doing they will become good men."¹

Verily, what he said of philosophizing we may say of theologizing. There is plenty of talk of faith and free Justification, but it consists in blowing of soap-bubbles—void words, no substance; nay, puffs of poison gas.

Faith an Abstract Principle—The Faith that was the medium in Luther's and Wesley's process of justification was an abstract faculty of confidence which alone was efficacious. Believe that you are cleansed from all your sins, and cleansed you are. He that believes is in a far superior position to that of him who seeks to deserve, for, where all human acts are abominable, none can deserve.

¹ *Ethics*, II, 4.

Whatsoever a chimney-sweeper handles is begrimed, and whatsoever fallen man touches is evil. Always be sure that you are pleasing to God, not through anything you have done, but through imputed merit. If you are sure that you are so, you are that. Feel that you are safe, and safe you are. But if you entertain the smallest doubt, you fall under condemnation, because self-condemned, by loss of confidence. You revert to the image of Adam, expelled from Paradise, and are no more a son of God. Be certainly resolved that you are in favour with God, and thereupon that you are. No need for personal endeavour after holiness, you are esteemed holy because you are so thoroughly convinced that you are holy. In *The Frogs* of Aristophanes, Bacchus assumed the lion's skin and club of Hercules, and passed himself off as the God of Strength. But directly he felt qualms and doubt in himself he shed these attributes and degenerated into the position of a slave. The Lutheran and the Methodist is safe so long as he believes in himself, but no longer.

Justification by Church teaching is Prospective. By Lutheran teaching is Retrospective—That such a doctrine must conduce to self-delusion, that it is certain to generate spiritual pride, and serve to deaden Conscience, is inevitable. The Pauline, Catholic view of Justification is that it is *prospective*, one inspiring to progress, the Lutheran-Wesleyan view is that Justification is *retrospective*, and makes no provision for advance in holiness ; it does worse, it puts a barrier across the road to holiness. The Wesleyan, having satisfied himself that he has "attained," has no fears for himself. He is self-assured. The different readings of the words Justification by Faith reveal themselves in the self-mistrust of the former, and the self-confidence of the latter.

As to possession of Faith ;—the Churchman has it as assuredly as has the Sectarian. It is his faith that urges him on, his faith that humbles him ; his faith that sustains him ; whereas in the Wesleyan, it is his faith that puffs him up.

The strongest character is unquestionably the man who believes in himself, but what is questionable is whether this self-assurance constitutes the Christian character.

Which is right, that only the Last Day will disclose ; but, unless the Church of the Living God has gone wrong from the first, this novel doctrine leads to a fatal delusion ; and the Chadbands, when they strut to the gates of Paradise and imperiously demand admittance, may possibly be much surprised and seriously ruffled when the valves are closed against them, but are unfolded to admit the " human boy " from Tom Allalones, Caddy Jellyby with her inked fingers, and Joe Gargery, whose fist was as a sledge-hammer, yet fell as light as the feather of a dove's wing ; whereas they themselves are bidden remain without until they have learned to acquire lowliness of spirit, have trodden self-confidence underfoot, and have discovered what it is to possess a broken and a contrite heart.

Justification by Feelings—Justification by Faith with Wesley and the Methodists is often nothing other than Justification by Feelings.

The more ignorant and emotional an individual is the more liable he is to be worked on and thrown into an hysterical condition ; and this physical and psychical convulsion is mistaken for Spiritual Regeneration. But the convulsions, the outcries, are but one form of the action produced by the strong appeals of the Revivalist. In by no means a few cases these emotional addresses act upon the bowels, and give fits of colic. Whether, when vehement preaching has produced this effect, it is also regarded as a token of Justification, a voidance of past sins, and an assurance of future immunity from sin, we are unable to say, as revivalist preachers are reticent thereon. But, for the life of us, we are unable to see why the action of religious excitement upon one set of ganglions should be classed as the work of the Spirit, and the other be discredited. Perhaps that is what Wesley meant when he attributed the phenomena attending on his preaching as due in some cases to the Devil, in others to the Divine Spirit.

Case of Hetty Wesley—The difference between the two aspects of Justification is well expounded by Sir A. Quiller-Couch in his *Hetty Wesley* : " Mehatabel had been wicked. She craved to be good. She remembered Mary Magdalen, whom Christ had forgiven, and caught at a hope for herself.

But why had Christ forgiven Mary? Because she had been sorry, and turned and walked the rest of her life in goodness? Because He had foreseen her long atonement? So Hetty believed. For her, too, then, the way back to forgiveness lay through conduct—always through conduct; and for her the road stretched long, for not until death could she reach Assurance. Of a way to forgiveness through Faith (though she must have heard of it a hundred times) she scarcely thought, still less of a way through Faith to instant Assurance. To those who have not travelled by that road its end—though promised on the honour of God, and proclaimed incessantly by those who have travelled and found it—seems utterly incredible.”¹

Incredible it is not, for Self-delusion is as facile as sin.

We could not have the two schemes placed before us more graphically, their contradiction more vigorously outlined. That adopted by Wesley, not heard of in Christendom till about the year 1528, and that of the Christian Church. As to which is the more attractive doctrine there can exist no doubt. As to whether it be not the “lie” which was to be Satan’s last card to play against the Christian Church is another question. None could have pointed out more clearly than has Sir Quiller Couch a doctrine most surely marked with the finger-print of Anti-christ. In like manner Dr. Chalmers in one of his letters wrote: “I am now most thoroughly of opinion, and it is an opinion founded on experience, that on the system—Do this, and live—no peace, and even no true and worthy obedience can be attained.”²

This is, of course, directly contrary to the words of Our Blessed Lord. It is a proclamation that he, Thomas Chalmers of Kilmany Manse, knew better the way of Salvation than did the Saviour of the World.

The penitent, according to the teaching of the Universal Church, must tread the narrow path, must prove his sincerity by “conduct,” must be ever on the watch, ever bracing up the mind, forbidden a back look, humble, trustful,

¹ *Hetty Wesley*, 1904, p. 176.

² Hanna (W.), *Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Chalmers*, 1849–50, I, p. 186.

never sure of self, and therefore most reliant on the Grace of God.

We will now leave consideration of the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and turn to Wesley himself and his work.

Wesley's Motive—The motive urging Wesley and his preachers was intense personal conviction, and an ardent desire to awaken the same conviction in the souls of others.

The Latitudinarians and the tepidly Orthodox had felt no tingling of the soul, entertained no conception of such a feeling, had none of the zeal that inspired S. Paul. "Necessity is laid upon me ; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel." The former had no Gospel to preach, and the latter, though they had the Gospel, did not know its power. The fervour of the Methodists revealed itself in the endeavour "to stem the torrent of vice and irreligion, and to fill the land with a godly and useful population. This, it is veritably believed, was from first to last the master-key to a right understanding of John Wesley's life."¹

At first Wesley was received with insult at the hands of a gross, ignorant and vicious mob, but this soon died away. The clergy looked on with a puzzled expression, as at something beyond their experience, and which they were incapable of understanding and explaining.

Maxfield accepts Luther's View in full—Wesley, in his horror of Antinomianism, would not accept the consequences that logically flowed from Luther's doctrine. What he insisted on was that instantaneous Conversion gave remission of all past sin and incorporation into the family of God ; but he insisted on the obligation of all the converted to live a life of adhesion to God, and of growth in Grace. He soon found that this was not sufficiently satisfying and thorough-going to content all men. He had a disciple, Thomas Maxfield, whom he called his "son in the Gospel" who headed revolt. To him Conversion was a final stage, and there was in it obliteration of all the fibres of sin. Wesley wrote to him. Maxfield replied, 14 January, 1762 : "If you call me proud or humble, angry or meek, it seems to sit much the same on my heart. If you call me John or Judas,

¹ Abbey (C. J.) and Overton (J. H.), *The English Church in the Eighteenth Cent.*, 1878, II, p. 67.

Moses or Korah, I am content." And on 16 October, in the same year, he wrote: "We have great opposition on every side. Nature, the World, and the Devil will never be reconciled to Christian Perfection.¹ But the great wonder is that Christians will not be reconciled to it; all, almost everyone, who call themselves ministers of Christ or preachers of Christ contend for sin to remain in the heart as long as we live, as though it were the only thing Christ delighted to behold in His members. I long to have your heart set at full liberty. I know you will then see things in a wonderful different light from what is possible to see them before." Wesley was hurt and disappointed because several of his converts threw up their connexion with him and adhered to Maxfield. "One who is very intimate with them that had left us," wrote Wesley in his *Journal*, "told me in plain terms, 'Sir, the case lies here; they say you are only a hypocrite, and therefore they can have no fellowship with you.'"²

One of these perfected saints, George Bell, prophesied that the end of the world would occur at night on the ensuing 28 February. This created the wildest alarm, even among those who remained faithful to Wesley. They did not dare to go to bed, and many wandered about the fields, a prey to terror. Bell, in his disappointment at the failure of his prophecy, became "an ignorant infidel," and finally turned "a fanatic in politics."

In spite of all Wesley could do, the doctrine of Free Justification, carried to the extreme by Maxfield and others, made great way and worked havoc among his "believers." He wrote a sermon on Sin in Believers, "in order to remove a mistake which some were labouring to propagate—that there is no sin in any that are justified."³ Far from holding the indefectibility of Grace, he taught—and he had discovered the fact by experience—that a lapse was quite possible. Writing concerning a woman who had been "set at liberty," he said, "Now suppose, ten weeks or two months hence, this person should lie cold or dead, shall I say, 'She deceived herself; this is merely the

¹ By this he meant Instantaneous acquisition of Sanctity by Conversion.

² Curnock (N.), *The Journal of John Wesley*, V, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

work of her own imagination ? ' Not at all. I will rather say, ' She was unfaithful to the grace of God, and so cast away what was really given.' ”¹

The number of Wesley's congregation who seceded to Maxfield in 1763 were, according to him, one hundred and six, but Atmore says they numbered two hundred, and these were some of Wesley's "choicest friends, which occasioned him great distress." He preached on the subject, taking as his text, " If I am bereaved of my children, I am bereaved." But what other could he expect, schism is fissiparous ? Even at Epworth, when he revisited it, he found the Methodists rent into two parties. In April, 1764, he wrote a circular letter to some forty or fifty clergymen who had sympathized with his revival work. In it he said : " Some years since God began a great work in England ; but the labourers were few. At first those few were of one heart ; but it was not so long. First one fell off, then another and another, till no two of us were left together in the work besides my brother and me. This prevented much good, and occasioned much evil. It grieved our spirits and weakened our hands ; it gave our common enemies huge occasion to blaspheme. It perplexed and puzzled many sincere Christians ; it caused many to draw back to perdition ; it grieved the Holy Spirit of God. As labourers increased, disunion increased. Offences were multiplied ; and instead of coming nearer to, they stood farther and farther off from each other ; till at length those who were not only brethren in Christ, but fellow-labourers in His Gospel, had no more connexion or fellowship with each other than Protestants have with Papists."

Essentials according to Wesley—In the same letter he laid down three points on which he insisted as essentials.

- I. Original Sin. By which he meant total corruption of human nature.
- II. Justification by Faith. By which he meant sensible release from sin.
- III. Holiness of Heart and Life ; provided the life be answerable to the doctrine.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

It was over this last article that dissension broke out, for it was precisely this point that required self-restraint and moral change of life. It was easy enough for anyone to absolve himself or herself for past offences, in a paroxysm of excitement. It was hard to forgo past bad habits and exercise self-control.

The defection on account of Antinomianism was Wesley's principal trouble, but also many of his converts took up with Calvinism, and became his bitter opponents, and others slid into Anabaptism. He wrote in his *Journal* on 4 August, 1766: "At one I preached at Bingley, but with a heavy heart, finding so many of the Methodists here, as well as at Haworth, perverted by the Anabaptists. I see clearer and clearer none will keep to us unless they keep to the Church. Whoever separate from the Church will separate from the Methodists." In fact, his once flourishing society at Bingley had been reduced to thirty members.

W. Cudworth—Another of those who gave him great trouble was William Cudworth, who set Hervey, the author of *Theron and Aspasia*, against Wesley.

On 27 March, 1759, Wesley was at Norwich, but he preached at Fornsett, twelve miles from the city. "We found William Cudworth had preached there in the morning. The people looked as direful upon me as if I had been Satan in person. However, they flocked from all parts so that the Tabernacle would not near contain them. After preaching I found Mr. Cudworth sitting in the pulpit behind me, whom I quietly and silently passed by."

"*Tuesday 27.*—I had an interview with Mr. Cudworth. I observed upon the whole (1) that his opinions are all his own, quite new, and his phrases as new as his opinions; (2) that all these opinions, yea, and the phrases too, he affirms to be necessary to salvation; maintaining that all who do not receive them worship another God; and (3) that he is as incapable as a brute beast of being convinced even in the smallest point."

Here was a pretty quarrel, and all about whether on the road of Free Justification according to Luther, men were to go to the end or halt at a half-way house. Cudworth had logic on his side, Wesley had common sense. Those who take

a wrong road may pursue it, but if they find that it leads to destruction they will halt, if possessed of common sense.

Cennick—Wesley was met by this trouble even in his preserve of Kingswood.

"12 October, 1760.—I visited the classes at Kingswood. Here only there is no increase; and yet there was there such a prospect till that weak man, John Cennick, confounded the poor people with strange doctrines. Oh, what mischief may be done by one that means well! we see no end of it to this day."

Spread of Antinomianism—Not only were his preachers falling off into preaching "Let us continue in sin that Grace may abound," but were putting their doctrine into practice, and were guilty of gross immoralities. Charles Wesley kept a list of these men, but this, of course, has not been published. It remains among his MSS.

As Mr. Curnock says of this period, 1760: "His preachers, who were the strength of the new movement, were also its weakness. A few fell into sin. A list of those who, for this reason, had to be laid aside is preserved among the papers of Charles Wesley, whose short-hand notes reveal the shameful details. John Wesley, knowing the temptations of their calling"—he might have added the ultimate tendency of their doctrine—"hoped against hope for the restoration of his fallen preachers. Others of their number were bewitched by forms of error, such as so frequently appear in times of intense religious excitement. Wesley dreaded error, and fought against it fiercely, knowing that it usually ended in Antinomian immoralities. As the century advanced, Wesley became a lonely knight-errant. Comrades of earlier years fell away from him. Old friends among the Anglican clergy and laity were shaken in their loyalty; many onlookers began to hope, to fear, that Methodism, if it did not perish in tempests of obloquy, would survive only as a discredited and slowly dwindling sect."¹

The Anglican clergy fell off in the direction of Calvinism, with which they had more affinity through the Alien Huguenots than with the German Lutherans. His own preachers drifted in the direction of Antinomianism.

¹ Curnock, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 383-4.

But the main body of Methodists have pulled up far short of this, and are cuddled up in self-assurance.

Difficulties with Quietists—What caused Wesley great annoyance was not only the irruption of Calvinism and Antinomianism among his converts, but also a form of Quietism imported by Moravians, German and English. He could not be away from his London congregation in Fetter Lane for eight days without dissensions breaking out compelling him to return. Directly he left Bristol, theological quarrels convulsed his followers there. In his *Journal* of Sunday, 22 June, 1740, he inserted a sermon he preached against those who broke from him.

“After we had wandered many years in the new path¹ of salvation by faith and works, and about two years ago it pleased God to show us the old way of salvation by faith only. . . . But eight or nine months ago certain men arose, speaking contrary to the doctrines we had received. They affirmed that we were all in a wrong way still ; that we had no faith at all. . . . They affirmed that there is no commandment in the New Testament but ‘to believe’ ; and that when a man does believe he is not bound to do anything which is commanded there : in particular, that he is not subject to ordinances, is not bound to pray, to communicate, to read or hear the Scriptures ; but may or may not use any of those things (being in no bondage), according as he finds his heart free to it.”

Rupture with the Calvinists—The rupture with the Calvinists was inevitable, and led to the schism of the Calvinistic Methodists. Wesley in his *Journal*, 19 June, 1740, tells us how it originated. A Mr. Acourt had been objected to when he presented himself for admission into the Society. “‘What,’ said Mr. Acourt, ‘do you refuse admitting a person into your society only because he differs from you in opinion ?’ I answered, ‘No ; but what opinion do you mean ?’ He said, ‘That of Election. I hold a certain number is elected from Eternity, and those must and shall be saved. And the rest of mankind must and shall be damned. And many of your society hold the same.’ I replied, ‘I never asked them whether they hold it or not.

¹ Wesley inverts the order, it was his doctrine that was new and raw.

Only let them not trouble others by disputing about it.' He said, 'Nay, but I will dispute about it.' 'What, whenever you come?' 'Yes, whenever I come.' 'Why, then, would you come among us, who, you know, are of another mind?' 'Because you are all wrong, and I am resolved to set you all right.' 'I fear your coming with this view would neither profit you nor us.' He concluded, 'Then I will go and tell all the world that you and your brother are false prophets. And I tell you, in one fortnight you will all be in confusion.' "

Very shortly after Wesley found that one of his preachers named Simpson had been preaching in his own chapel in Fetter Lane against himself as holding by the Works of the Law—"which we believers are no more bound to obey than the subjects of the King of England are bound to obey the laws of the King of France."¹

The consequence of this teaching was, as Wesley says of one of the converts: "(1) She was grown above measure wise in her own eyes; she knew everything as well as any could tell her, and needed not to be 'taught of man.' (2) She utterly despised all her brethren, saying they were all in the dark, they knew not what Faith meant. (3) She despised her teachers, saying they knew nothing of the Gospel; they preached nothing but the Law, and brought all into bondage who minded what they said."²

"30 January, 1743." Wesley preached at the Foundery "A day or two after I received a letter from a girl of sixteen or seventeen. Some of her words were, 'I do not think there were above six or seven words of the true Gospel in your whole sermon. I think nothing ought to concern *you* but the errand which the Lord gave you. But how far are you from this! You preach more the Law than the Gospel.'"

Paucity of Subjects for Sermons—With Wesley and with Whitefield and largely with the Evangelical clergy of the Established Church, there was great paucity of matter in their discourses. Practically they harped on two themes, the Utter Corruption of Man's nature and Justification by Faith. Their sermons were like the banquet Plutarch describes as prepared for Pompey by his host of Epirus.

¹ *Journal*, II, p. 362.

² *Ibid.*, III, pp. 4-5.

There were many dishes, and there was a seeming variety ; but when he came to examine them narrowly, he found them all made out of one hog, and, indeed, to be nothing else but pork, differently disguised and spiced.

The Two Systems—One last word on the conflicting systems : for that they were in diametrical conflict admits of no doubt. The Christian system on one side, and the Lutheran on the other, must grapple with one another, till the one or the other is thrown.

The Christian System—The Christian system is that of laying deep the foundations of the Spiritual Life in humility, and in building it up, line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little, to attainment to the stature of the fulness of Christ.

In the last Act of Wagner's *Parzival* we see the wayworn weary knight, with soiled and battered armour sink exhausted beside the Well of Life, within sight of Mont Salvat, the object of his life's journey. And there he is divested of his rusty and bruised harness. As buckler and greaves are plucked off, the white, seamless robe is revealed descending to his feet ; and when the casque is removed there are disclosed the flowing fair locks, the love-filled eyes, the well-known features of the Son of Man—the image of Christ formed in the soldier during a life of conflict and victory, of fall and rising again, of pressing onward undaunted to the goal—the hidden man of the heart made manifest at last in the splendour of Easter morn, and to the singing of the birds of Spring.

The Wesleyan System—But the general Wesleyan conception was the reverse of this. Though Wesley himself never desired it to be so formulated. It made the sinner perfect, impeccable in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. This was not the Gospel ; it was the Gospel turned upside down.¹

Wesley and the Church—When Wesley first began to preach several of the better bishops were ready to welcome him and encourage him in his work. Such were Archbishop Secker, Gibson, Bishop of London ; and at a later period to favour the Evangelical movement in the Church, were

¹ See the Appendix, "The Firm Bank."

Lowth and Porteus of London. The Bishop of Londonderry was his fast friend. A bishop of Exeter after Lavington, who had opposed Methodism, welcomed Wesley into his diocese, invited him to dinner and was cordial and sympathetic. In the later volumes of his *Journal* we read that hardly a fortnight elapsed without his having been invited to preach in some parish church. It is false to assert that the Church of England rejected him. It was he who, unwittingly and unwillingly, led away into schism a host of Christian people. But when Wesley disregarded all ecclesiastical order, and showed himself to be governed by his own unshackled will ; and when the bishops became fully aware of the nature of his teaching, and of the methods he adopted, they withdrew their favour.

Singularly enough John Wesley was the last to see, what had become evident to his brother Samuel, that the movement was gravitating towards schism. In October, 1739, Samuel wrote : " They design separation. They are already forbidden all the pulpits in London ; and to preach in that diocese is actual schism. In all likelihood, it will come to the same all over England . . . as I told Jack, I am not afraid the Church should excommunicate him (discipline is at too low an ebb) ; but that he should excommunicate the Church."

We have had it repeated incessantly that the Church of England acted in a blind and suicidal manner in cutting off the Wesleyans from her Communion. Actually, she did nothing of the sort. They severed the connexion themselves, and it was well that they did so. The Church had suffered too severely from being deluged in Elizabeth's reign with Calvinism to be ready now to welcome an invasion of Lutheranism in that of the Georges.

The Similar Points of Wesley's and Whitefield's Preaching—There existed a certain similarity between the preaching of Wesley and Whitefield.

In the first place, they preached the Holiness of God, and the utter depravity of mankind. They declared the terrors of the Lord, and His wrath against Evildoers.

Wesley's Methods. Personal Appeals—To such as had never had any spiritual experience, had never given much

thought to the things of Eternity, the words of the Evangelical missionary came as a revelation, rousing them to consciousness of matters they had not hitherto considered, and disclosing to themselves how base, how unprofitable their life had been hitherto. Terrified with the prospect of Hell gaping to receive them, they shrieked out, What must we do to be saved? And the invariable and unqualified reply was: "Believe only."

In the second place, the addresses of these preachers were not couched in general terms, but were appeals made to each soul individually. "The pulpit style of Wesley, and of Whitefield too, must be called *individualizing*. These preachers, whose eyes sparkled with a fiery energy, and whose hands, in every movement, seemed to have an aim, as if at a single bosom, spoke to the soul of every hearer, apart from the thousands around him. "My message is to *thee*, sinner. I stand here to-day to bring *thee* to bethink thyself of thy past ways. *Thou* who dost now appear in the presence of thy God, loathsome in thy sins—I challenge and command *thee* to bow thy stubborn neck, and bend thy knee. Dost not *thou*, even *thou*, ungrateful as thou hast been these many years—yea, a hardened rebel from thy mother's breast until now—dost thou not hear thy Saviour calling *thee* to repent and turn? Was it not for *thee* that He shed His blood? Did He not carry thy sorrows to Calvary, even *thine*? Was He not wounded for thy transgressions? Did He not think of *thee*, of thy soul, and all its abominations that dark night when He lay in agony on the ground? Yes. It was none other than thy sins that made Him sweat blood in that garden. But now, with a purpose of mercy in His heart towards thy wretched soul, He calls thee to Himself; and says, yea, He says to thee, 'Come let us reason together.'

"It was thus, and often in phrases far more emphatic and awakening, that a firm hold upon the human heart was taken."¹

The third point was this, clenching the whole matter. When the heart was touched, and every nerve was quivering with fear, and the prospect appeared black, the preacher

¹ Taylor (Isaac), *Wesley*, 1851, pp. 159-160.

suddenly turned upon the terrified spirit the blaze of hope, of more than hope, of certainty of escape from guilt and its consequences through Free Justification by Faith ; opening up to the excited mind the assurance of immediate Salvation, to be obtained by passive surrender to Grace. No further struggle, no effort to resist temptation would be needed, all is over in the turning of a hand.

A Further Secret of Success—It must be considered as one great explanation of the success of Wesley that he brought an element of interest and excitement into the life of the dull agricultural folk, to which they had been foreign since the days of the Puritan domination. The period was not one of wide diffusion of newspapers, and the news afforded in these papers was scanty. It was not a time of special reporters. Political interests stirred the few freeholders only. The labouring men met in the evenings at the tavern to talk over village gossip, to discuss the last run of the hounds, and the shift of the weather, and to listen for the three hundredth time to the songs " Barbara Allen " and " The Fly Among the Turmuts." There was no awakened interest in other than petty local matters, till the movement inaugurated by John Wesley gave fresh topics for discussion ; and it was precisely because he furnished the country folk with the revived and refurbished-up controversial articles of Arminius and Calvin to dispute over that he contributed a mental as well as a spiritual awakening, and supplied the people with matter to argue over in which neither side could claim a victory, for neither side could know anything about the matter of dispute.

The Band Meetings—Then, in the next place, he organized his Societies. Its members were to meet once a week and were bidden observe the Apostolic command, " Confess your faults one to another, and pray for one another, that ye may be healed."

But such confidences were liable to abuse. Joe Muggins had been heard by those occupying adjoining cottages engaged in violent altercation with his wife, who, in shrill tones, had rebuked him for his attentions to Polly Smith, a pretty girl of the same religious persuasion, whom he had met surreptitiously behind the chapel. About this he had

not a word to say at the meeting, but he dilated on temptations that he had 'manfully resisted, and which were probably fictitious. Anyhow, the subject of Polly was not introduced, nor did Joe confess that he had used expressions to his wife not permissible in a Methodist mouth. Those who heard his Confession were conscious of their own weaknesses, and made allowance for his reticence. There was mutual forbearance, and there were common narrations of fabulous victories.

Confessors in the Anglican and Roman Communions admit that their penitents do not invariably confide "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." They make allowance for natural reserve. And the same screening of what is not well to be known would inevitably occur in the Wesleyan class. It would exist to a far larger extent there than in a Catholic Confessional, where the confession is made into the ear of a priest, not only professionally bound to silence, but conscious that to break the seal would be to commit a mortal sin; and not to a class of men, with unpadlocked lips, and subject to inquisitorial questions by their wives at home.

The result would be, not solely unreality, but encouragement of self-righteousness on false grounds. That these meetings tied men together, by tacit mutual winking at each other's *suppressio veri*, and glorification of triumphs never achieved over supposititious enemies was simply inevitable. Nevertheless, a social element was introduced, apart from the tavern meeting over pipes and ale, that was vastly attractive, at all events, till the novelty wore off. Each member was keen to learn with what dexterity his brother would extricate himself from some moral or social scandal, bruited about in the village, and present himself in a favourable light as a triumphant Saint, a second S. George treading the old dragon underfoot. It was as good as a play, and eventually became every whit as unreal, though there had been indubitable reality among the early Methodists.

The Watch Night—The Watch-night Service and the Covenant Service were also instituted as sensational stimulants. The former, accounted one of the most solemn

acts by the Wesleyans, commences an hour or two before midnight on New Year's Eve, closing immediately after twelve. Whilst the last hour of the old year is being struck by the clock, the minister is engaged in vociferating a rousing prayer. These watch-night services were the occasion of much scandal in the early days of Methodism; much as were the Saints' Day vigils in the Medieval Church. They were designed to furnish the Methodists with an attraction like that of the Midnight Mass to Catholics on Christmas night. In Exeter Cathedral it was for long usual at midnight on the Feast of the Nativity for the choir in their surplices to sing from the Minstrels' Gallery on the north side of the nave, the hymn "Adeste fideles." But the scandal caused by the attendance of drunken men from the recently closed ale-houses became so intolerable that the traditional usage had to be given up.

The Covenant Service—The Covenant Service is held at the beginning of each year. Its nature will be sufficiently illustrated by the following quotation from Wesley:—

"*August 6, 1755.*—I mentioned to our congregation in London a means of increasing serious religion which had been frequently practised by our forefathers, the joining in a Covenant to serve God with all our heart and soul. I explained this for several mornings following; and on Friday many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching Him to give us wisdom and strength that we might 'promise unto the Lord our God and keep it.' On Monday, at six in the evening, we met for that purpose at the French church in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the Covenant proposed, in the words of that blessed man, Richard Alleine, all the people stood up, in token of assent, to the number of eighteen hundred. Such a night I scarce ever knew before."

This is, in fact, an annual renewal of the Baptismal Covenant as made in the Church at Confirmation, and is an admirable institution. Practically every Churchman does the same when he asks to have his heart inclined to keep the Commandments, and recites the Nicene Creed.

The Prayer Meeting—The Prayer Meeting is a further attraction, for in it every one present is eligible to "put up a

prayer ” ; and of precious stuff one of these prayers is often composed. This was an advance on the Puritan “ conceived prayer,” for the minister alone was allowed to extemporize thus in public ; as he does still in Presbyterian kirks in Scotland, and in Dissenting conventicles elsewhere. But in the Wesleyan prayer meeting anyone may perform, and, unless he be overcome by diffidence, which is rarely the case, he is able to exhibit his ability in this direction.

The following is a description of a Methodist prayer meeting by James Lackington, the bookseller :

“ It is impossible for you to form any just idea of these assemblies except you had been present at them : one wheedles and coaxes the Divine Being in his addresses ; another is amorous and luscious ; and a third so rude and commanding that he will even tell the Deity that He must be a *liar* if He does not grant all they ask. In this manner will they work up one another’s imagination until they may actually be said to be in a state of intoxication, when it often happens that some of them recollect a text of Scripture, such as ‘ Thy sins are forgiven thee,’ or, ‘ Go and sin no more,’ and then, they declare themselves to be born again, or to be sanctified.”¹

Writing upon the Love feasts, he says : “ At these times the Spirit is supposed to be very powerfully at work amongst them, and such an union of sighing and groaning succeeds that you would think they had all lost their senses. In this frantic state, men apply to themselves such texts of Scripture as happen to come into their heads.”²

The Love Feast—The Love feast is a revival of the early Christian Agapæ. These commence with a prayer put up by the presiding minister, hymns are sung, prayers are offered, and such as choose dilate on their “ experiences.” During the proceedings pieces of seed-cake or bread are distributed and eaten, and water is drunk, in token of brotherly love.

The early Christian Agapæ became such scenes of scandal, even in the time of S. Paul (1 Cor. xi, 22), that they were abolished by the Church ; and it is probable that the strict rule of fasting that was instituted before Communion was designed as a protection against the drunkenness, etc., that

¹ Lackington (Jas.), *Memoirs*, 1792, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

prevailed at these nocturnal pious orgies. Our harvest and "revel" and Charitable teas are the modern respectable reproductions of the scandalous Agapæ.

Carvosso's Memoir—It is expedient that we should give some specimens of Wesleyan teaching as to instantaneous Conversion and Justification, to show that we are not stating what cannot be substantiated. We will take Benjamin Carvosso, a Cornishman, born 1789, who died in 1854, as typical. God forbid that for one moment we should dispute the deep piety and the sincere conviction of the man, but we cannot doubt that he mistook an emotion that might have led to colic, but which produced an hysterical convulsion of another description, as Conversion. Carvosso was for sixty years a class-leader in the Wesleyan-Methodist connexion; and he has recorded his Memoirs. On page 12 of the preface an account is given of his meeting with a woman who "did not know her sins were pardoned. He told her, 'You may receive the blessing now.' He then took the Wesleyan Hymn Book, opened at the 36th hymn, and put her to read, 'Thy debt is paid.' He put his thumb on the words that followed, looked her full in the face, and inquired if she thought it was paid? She burst into a flood of tears, and was made happy from that very moment." A little further on, he says that he was conversing with some friends on "the blessing of perfect love," and charged them "with the error of asking God for what God had already given." "To illustrate and impress" this upon them "he took up a Hymn Book and said, 'Suppose one of you ask me for this book; well, there it is; I give it you. Now,' he observed, 'will it not be manifest folly in you to continue asking me for the book, when you have it already in possession?' This simple method helped us to the act of faith; we believe—the sacred fire kindled within, and presently we were all in a blaze of love, shouting and praising God together."

According to this, the daily Confession in the Matins and Evensong of the Church is not only useless, but is offering an insult to the Almighty in asking twice in twelve hours for what has been already given in full. This is a restatement of Eaton's doctrine in *The Honeycomb of Free Justification*,

1642. That this is an attractive doctrine is undoubtedly true, it makes "going to Heaven" as easy to the Protestant as wearing a scapular does to a Papist. But is it true? At any rate it is irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Universal Church. Hans Christian Andersen has a story of the Emperor's New Clothes. A gang of rogues persuade his Majesty and all the King's subjects that they will weave and fashion for his royal highness a complete suit that will be invisible to all such as are traitors. On a high day the Emperor goes in procession through the streets of his capital, having been invested by the rogues in the invisible garments. It is true, he himself does not see any, but dare not admit the fact lest it should prove a confession of faithlessness to his Coronation oaths. Nor did his subjects who lined the streets discover any magnificent vesture, or, any vesture at all. Then, a little child exclaimed, "Why! the King is stark naked!"

The Methodist system of investiture with Christ's merits is every whit as great a falsity as that of the rogues who wove and fashioned the Emperor's New Clothes.

But to proceed.

His Conversion—Carvosso relates his own conversion thus: the first night of his attending at a Methodist meeting-house: "The scales," he says, "fell off from my eyes, and I saw and felt that I was in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity. I now gave in my sins and all my old companions at a stroke. I was determined to go to Heaven, cost what it would. . . . I suffered much for many days; but about the space of eight hours before I received the pardon of sin, I might say, with David, The pains of Hell gat hold upon me. In the midst of the conflict, I said, in answer to the powerful suggestions of the devil, 'I am determined whether I am saved or lost that, while I have breath, I will never cease crying for mercy.'"

So far so good, this was a genuine Conversion, a making a start in the Christian life. What follows is dubious. "The very moment I formed this resolution in my heart Christ appeared within, and God pardoned all my sins, and set my soul at liberty. This was about nine o'clock at night, May 7th, 1811."

A paroxysm of Feeling, nothing more.

Referring to this event in his subsequent diary, 7 May, he says: "On this day forty-seven years ago the Lord pardoned all my sins." On the 13th March, 1812, he records his sanctification: "At length, one evening, while engaged in a prayer-meeting, the great deliverance came. I began to exercise faith by believing: 'I shall have the blessing now.' Just at that moment a heavenly influence filled the room, and no sooner had I uttered or spoken the words from my heart—than refining fire went through my heart, illuminated my soul, scattered its life through every part, and sanctified the whole. I then received the full witness of the Spirit that the blood of Jesus had cleansed me from all sin."

On 21 November, 1821, he recorded in his Journal: "I can truly say, with one of old, 'Giving glory to God, I feel no guilt; all is clear. I feel no sin; God hath destroyed it.'"

What guarantee had he that he was not suffering from a delusion? Fancying himself—strutting forward—in his own opinion, in royal apparel, he was naked.

His Practice—Thus much for Carvosso's own experience. Let us see his method in operation in dealing with others. In the "great revival" at Redruth, at which he officiated, we are told that at the first prayer-meeting "eight persons found peace with God." "The night following, at another prayer-meeting, many hundreds were brought into deep distress about their spiritual interests, and multitudes of them were enabled to testify that they had experienced remission of sins." "At Tucking-Mill the meeting commenced on Sunday, and continued without intermission till the Friday following." "Several backsliders were restored, and four laid hold on the blessing of perfect love." So! notwithstanding Conviction of Remission of Sin, and Assurance of Election, there were backsliders who had to be brought in again!

One person, a woman, with whom he conversed, said: "'I have been a vile sinner against God for forty years.' Seeing that she was wounded by the sword of the Spirit, and now wanted the Comforter, I told her that, notwithstanding

all her guilt and sin, I had good news to tell her. 'Jesus,' said I, 'is now ready, willing, wanting to save you. Are you willing to give up all your sins, to give God your whole heart, and to serve Him all your days?' With a full heart, she said, 'Yes, I am.' 'Then,' said I, 'now is the accepted time with God. All that Christ requires is that you feel your want of Him.' We knelt with her at the throne of Grace, wrestled for her in mighty prayer; and the Lord heard, and set the captive free." "Never shall I forget," wrote Carvosso, "a meeting we had one night at Mr. T's. Himself, his dear wife, and two pious young men, came together to talk about the deep things of God. . . . We went to prayer, and the Lord opened the windows of Heaven, and poured out such a blessing that there was scarce room to contain it. It was some time before anything could be uttered but, 'Glory! Glory! Glory!' From that period they all four bore witness that the blood of Jesus Christ had cleansed them from all sin."

Work with Children—The children were also assailed. We hear of a gracious work begun in a Sunday School. "Some of them seemed as deeply convinced of sin as if they had been forty years of age; and after they had found peace could give as clear an account of the work of grace on their minds as if they had been in the good way seven years."

One of the Methodist tracts gives an account of a murderer who was confined in Norwich gaol, A.D. 1696. It is said that he asked and received the remission of his sins. "God delivered him from blood-guiltiness. He attained, through believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, that Kingdom of God which consists in righteousness of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. He longed for his dying day, that he might go to dwell with Christ, and the prospect of a violent and ignominious death did not dismay him." In a letter written to his wife, he said: "Through the infinite mercy of Jesus Christ, I can say with some degree of comfort and boldness, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.' " Stories of like sudden religious transformations are numerous—occur in thousands in Methodist publications.

It will be seen that according to the Wesleyan doctrine, every man, woman, and child is invested by Christ with

the priestly office of Absolution. Each sinner absolves himself.

The Catholic Doctrine of Repentance and Forgiveness of Sins—Whether this be true or false doctrine, it is diametrically opposed to that of the Church Universal, of the Church of England in particular, and of the Gospel. According to this latter, Our Lord, before His departure, made special provision for the remission of sins. He communicated the authority to bind or to loose to His Apostles, and to their successors, for He was to be with them in authority unto the end of the world. This has been perfectly well understood and acted upon in the Catholic Church, East and West, from the day of Pentecost.

What is required of the penitent is true Repentance ! and true Repentance is made up of three parts, Contrition or Sorrow for Sin, Confession of Sin to God, and full purpose of Amendment, and, as far as possible, reparation for wrong done. This is plainly enough stated in the *General Confession* used twice daily in our churches.

Want of space has compelled us to omit the numerous passages in Methodist tracts and magazines that attest the prevalence of the insistence on the doctrine of Instantaneous Justification. It is impossible to doubt that under this system the workings of repentance and penitence are suddenly arrested in the convert ; that this is in fact and practically a “ Justification by Feelings ” ; excited feelings are often regarded by the Wesleyan as *the* fruits of the Spirit.

Revivalists Appeal to the Emotions—“ Promoters of revivals have learnt from experience that merely eloquent or argumentative sermons are of no avail ; that the more preachers preach to the reason of their hearers, the less frequently are they convinced of sin ; that discourses on the several parts of Christian doctrine and practice, on the hatefulness of sin and the beauty of holiness, are rarely instrumental in saving souls ; and that the only certain way of transforming ‘ worldlings ’ into Christians is to work upon their feelings. Fear and hope are the only emotions addressed ; the first is worked upon and intensified until it reaches the borders of despair, and sometimes until it over-

leaps those of madness ; and only when the sinner, even though he be a man of the strongest frame, is so overmastered by his terror as to become mentally and physically prostrate is the sentiment of hope appealed to. Then, despairing and terrified by the consciousness of guilt and danger, he is exhorted to turn to Christ, to plead the efficacy of the Atonement, to have faith in His saving power, and to trust to Him alone for redemption. Hope is revived, and gradually strengthens as the stricken soul dwells on the idea of Christ's love and power to save ; at length it gains the victory over fear, and, becoming supreme, transforms the 'lost' into the 'saved,' the 'sinner' into the 'saint,' to whom the Holy Ghost gives 'an inward witness of Salvation.' ”¹

Wesley's Preaching—From Wesley's doctrine and method we shall pass next to his Personality and Preaching.

That Wesley was eloquent appears from an account of a sermon by him, given by Benjamin Franklin. He wrote : “ I happened to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that ; and determined me to give the silver ; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all.”

If he could exercise such power over a hard-headed, intelligent, and educated man, what must it have been over the uncultured, unthinking, who had never been taught to control their emotions ?

Wesley a Hypnotist—The sermons of John Wesley that remain and have been published are not remarkable in any way, either for matter or for eloquence. But the fact was that his preaching obtained its effect through his personality. He possessed the rare and powerful, but as yet ill-understood, faculty of a hypnotist ; a faculty that exists only in strong personalities allied to indomitable self-confidence. Under

¹ *Westminster Review*, Jan., 1860, pp. 192-3.

the influence of suggestion the hypnotist can make his patient lose his own personality, or place it in abeyance, and can make him see, feel, and do what the performer wills him to see, feel, and do.

The relation of the revivalist to his convert is identical with that of the hypnotist to his patient. In both cases suggestion is at work. The hypnotist has no need for eloquent words or for cogent argument. He masters the mind and controls the will of his subject by that mysterious force, the presence of which we instinctively feel when in the society of those gifted individuals who possess it. The will of the hypnotist or of the revivalist, strong and intense, overthrows the weak and wavering will that stands over against it. There are instances in the Roman Church of wholesale conversions effected by the preaching of a saintly man in a tongue not comprehensible by his audience.

Wesley's Personality—The possessor of this power is invariably resolute and self-confident. If he were to lose his self-confidence he would sink as did Peter when walking on the water. One of the most characteristic features of Wesley was this same undoubting confidence that he was right in all he thought, willed, and projected. He was able with ease to find reasons justifying his actions, however wilful they might be. His egoism was extraordinary; but had he not possessed it he could not possibly have done the work that he achieved.

Wesley's Power over Wills—Wesley "possessed in an almost unrivalled degree that faculty which is the one common and distinctive property of all great men of action, the faculty of controlling the wills of those with whom he came in contact. What this power may be, and whence it is derived, we cannot tell. But there is no mistaking its presence. It is the patent of the true nobility of leadership. We may call it, if we please, the force of will, or the power of personality, but such terms are, after all, very inadequate expressions for that which baffles definition and eludes explanation. Mysterious as it is, the figures of the men who have filled big rôles on the stage of history are instinct with this force. While they exhibit every conceivable variety of

talent and disposition, they are all alike in this, that they can command as by a spell the obedience of their fellows."¹

Wesley's Oxford pupil, and afterwards his brother-in-law, wrote to him : " Your presence creates an awe, as if you were the inhabitant of another world. I cannot think as you do, but I retain the highest veneration and affection for you. The sight of you moves me strangely."

Limited to the Uncultured—The magnetic power Wesley possessed was manifested repeatedly when he was surrounded by hostile crowds. His absolute sincerity, his self-confidence, and his courage overcame those most opposed to him, not on reasonable grounds, nor out of conviction. On educated and intellectual men he would have produced no effect whatsoever. But on the unthinking and the irrationally prejudiced he could establish his mastery with ease. A single instance will suffice to illustrate an experience which repeated itself frequently. It occurs in his *Journal* under date 4 July, 1745 : " They (i.e. the mob) quickly forced open the outer door and filled the passage. . . . Among those without were the crews of some privateers which were lately come into the harbour. Some of them being angry at the slackness of the rest, thrust them away, and coming up all together set their shoulders to the inner door and cried out, ' Avast, lads, avast ! ' Away went all the hinges at once, and the door fell into the room. I stepped forward at once into the midst of them and said, ' Here am I. Which of you has anything to say to me ? To which of you have I done any wrong ? To you ? Or you ? Or you ? I continued speaking till I came bareheaded as I was (for I purposely left my hat that all might see my face) into the midst of the street, and then, raising my voice, said, ' Neighbours, countrymen, do you desire to hear me speak ? ' They cried vehemently, ' Yes, yes ! He shall speak. He shall. Nobody shall hinder him.' But having nothing to stand on and no advantage of ground I could be heard by few only. However, I spoke without intermission, and as far as the sound reached the people were still ; till one or two of their captains turned about and swore, ' Not a man shall touch him.' "

¹ *C.Q.R.*, LXVI (1908), pp. 30-31.

Although Wesley records this of himself, and there may be some exaggeration, the account is substantially correct, undoubtedly.

Incidents in Wesley's Life—We must now turn to some incidents in Wesley's life.

John Wesley was married in 1751. In Read's *Weekly Journal* or *The British Gazetteer* of February 23, 1750-51, we see: "On Monday last the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, Methodist Preacher, was married to Mrs. Vazel,¹ in Threadneedle Street; a widow Gentlewoman, of great Beauty, Merit, and every Endowment necessary to render the Marriage State happy, with a jointure of £300 *per annum*."

But happy the marriage was not. It could not fail to be otherwise. Wesley's long absences from home, with a swarm of women dancing to his pipe, pursuing him in admiring crowds, as the damsels pursued and hovered round his prototype Glycerius, were not calculated to please an exacting and jealous wife, who, moreover, with her money helped him to build chapels, to found an orphanage, and enabled him to travel the country in her chaise, when not riding or travelling in "the machine," as he called the stage-coach.² On one occasion she dragged him across the room by the hair of his head. The result was a separation.

Living on Excitement—Wesley lived on excitement, on producing excitement in those who heard him, and the excitement he provoked unsteadied both his own reason and that of his hearers.

The story is told of one of the Methodist meetings that in the midst of a wild outburst of enthusiasm, of prayer and praise vociferated from all parts of the room, a cry rang out that the Holy Ghost was descending on the congregation in visible shape, as at Pentecost. Amidst a turmoil of voices, one man protested that "it is nowt o' t' sort." Whereupon the company fell upon the unbelieving Thomas, to "thrust him out of the synagogue." Eventually it transpired that the commotion was due to a white butterfly that had fluttered in through an open casement.

His Vanity—"Had he not possessed vanity enough to believe anything and everything respecting himself to be

¹ Properly Vazeille.

² A Northumberland term.

well worthy of recording, he would hardly have found the time and the patience to keep, as he did, a minute diary for some sixty-five years, not only of his actions and of his journeys, but of his thoughts, opinions, and observations on men, books, and endless miscellaneous topics, much less would he have bequeathed such a record to his disciples—a record which, had it been possible for a humble or delicate-minded man to keep it at all, would, of all things, have been kept for himself alone. In all Wesley's works, whatever be the subject, he either finds or makes opportunity to speak of himself, his own views, his own conduct. He evidently seems to himself to stand in the centre of all things, and regards them as going their appointed ways from him and to him. Southey truly remarks of him, when in the full swing of his career, 'The world did not contain a happier man than Wesley, nor in his own eyes a more important one.'"¹ Coleridge's comment is severe but not untrue: "Rooted ambition, restless appetite of power and primacy, with a vindictive spirit, breaking forth into slanders against those who interfered with his ruling passion, and a logical shadow-fight with notions and words, sustained by the fervour of the game, with an entire absence and unsusceptibility of ideas and tranquil depths of being—in short, my—my—myself in a series of disguises and self-delusions."² His vanity showed itself in wearing his hair long, in curls flowing over his shoulders and down his back.³

His Journal—Second only in interest to *Pepys's Diary* is the *Journal of John Wesley*. Each throws a brilliant light upon certain features of the times in which they respectively lived; but there was this difference in their production, Samuel Pepys never intended his Diary to be seen by other eyes than his own, whereas John Wesley wrote his for publication and for his own apotheosis.

It was about the year 1724 that he began to keep an exact account of how he spent his time. There were three stages in the composition of his published Journal, at least in the earlier years.

¹ Espin (T. E.), *Critical Essays*, 1864, p. 3.

² Southey (R.), *Life of Wesley*, 1846, I, p. 243.

³ He applied to himself the saying of Archimedes: "Give me but, where to stand, and I will shake the Earth" (*Journal*, II, p. 201).

1. A rough diary dotted in in shorthand from day to day.
2. A private Journal amplified from these notes, and containing moral reflexions on the incidents that had occurred.
3. An extract from No. 2, of such passages as he deemed advisable to make public ; and this was done, as he expressly states, for edification, and to serve as an apology for the movement that at first was spoken against. As Methodism established itself, and as the violence of opposition died away, it ceased to serve as an Apologia, and in the final years, the polemical features are those of hostility towards the unruly members of his sect.

The Journal, as already said, opens in 1724, it ends in 1789, and was comprised in twenty volumes, the last being issued after his death. The final and complete edition is that of N. Curnock, in eight volumes, begun in 1909 and issued in instalments.

Egoism—The *Journal* is as complete a self-revelation as is the *Diary* of Pepys. What strikes the reader at once is the enormous, unparalleled egoism of the writer. A journal does, of course, concern self-record ; but it may contain a good deal more. The eye of the biographer ranges round, and sees much not immediately concerning himself, is interested in the political and social movements of his day, notes the character and conduct of those occupying prominent places in the world at the time. There is none of this in Wesley's *Journal*. Almost nothing is touched on save what concerns himself and his work.

On 14 May, 1765, he remarked to a friend in a letter : " I preach about eight hundred sermons in a year." And on 28 June, 1774, his seventy-second birthday, he attributed his health and strength to these causes : " (1) My constantly rising at four, for above fifty years ; (2) my generally preaching at five in the morning, one of the most healthy exercises in the world ; (3) my never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in the year."

Everything about himself must, he considered, interest and edify the public, as that he had a lump which inconvenienced him when in his saddle, about the size of a nut

which swelled to that of a plum, and then subsided, without bursting, and which was not a boil, and which, *mirabile dictu*, gave him no pain. He considered it well to announce to posterity that at Newlyn in Cornwall, 29 July, 1753, he had "a looseness" which "waked him between two and three." Also that at Shoreham one night he had cramp in his leg that forced him to leave his bed and walk about the room. More astounding still is his record of what took place on 4 January, 1774, which we would have supposed that any man with reserve and sense of decency would not have given to the public.

Credulity—Although a man of shrewd sense in most matters, he was extraordinarily credulous in spiritual and religious experiences, and swallowed as Gospel truths the tales of ghosts and of providences and of revelations told him by the "Converted." One of these converts, Elizabeth Hobson of Sunderland, gulled him to her heart's content. He chronicled twenty-four of her experiences. She was haunted by an uncle, by a sailor acquaintance who was drowned at sea, and who on visiting her wrung drops of salt water out of his jacket on her bosom; and by her brother John, who was practically tiresome, because he repeatedly pulled the bed-clothes off her. However, on one occasion when in bed she was groping for her pocket-handkerchief, the ghost politely brought her one. "One night I was sitting up in bed crying when he came and began to pull off the clothes. I strove to touch his hand, but could not." On this Wesley commented: "Poor ghost! Did this divert thee for a moment from attending to the worm that never dies!"¹

Another woman told him: "On old Michaelmas Day was three years, I was sitting by myself at my father's, with a Bible before me; and one, whom I took to be my uncle, came into the room and sat down by me. He talked to me some time, till, not liking his discourse, I looked more carefully at him. He was dressed like my uncle; but I observed one of his feet was just like that of an ox. Then I was frightened, and he began torturing me sadly, and told me he would torture me ten times more if I would not swear to kill my father, which at last I did."²

¹ *Journal*, V, p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, V, p. 32.

Treatment of Children—Notwithstanding his good sense, Wesley cultivated a morbid feeling in children. One little girl supposed she would be condemned to hell-fire because she had taken some cuttings of gooseberry bushes from a neighbour's garden, without leave. "William Cooper at Walsall, then nine years old, was convinced of sin, and would frequently say he should go to hell, and the devil would fetch him. Sometimes he cried out, 'I hate him.' Being asked 'Whom?' he answered, with great vehemence, 'God.' But in about a fortnight it pleased God to reveal to him His pardoning love. His mouth was then filled with praise, declaring to all what God had done for his soul."¹

The Kingswood School—The Kingswood School was an institution founded by John Wesley in 1748 for the purpose of training up children in his religion, under the matronship of Mrs. Ryan, a woman of dubious character. Many thousands of pounds were collected to start and to maintain it, but the money leaked away, none knew how. One of the masters, however, having been detected in falsifying the accounts, was transformed into an itinerant preacher.

The poor children educated in this institution were subjected to incessant bullying till they could or would profess themselves 'converted.' A writer who had been eight years in the school says: "A general conversion among the boys was once effected by the late excellent Mr. Fletcher, one poor boy only excepted, who unfortunately resisted the influence of the Holy Spirit; *for which he was severely flogged*, which did not fail of the desired effect, and impressed proper notions of religion on his mind. Unhappily these operations of the Spirit, though violent, were but of short duration."

The same writer declares that hardly any of the pupils of Kingswood remained true to Methodism. He says: "The work was sometimes attended with power among the children at Kingswood. Conversions were frequent, but *never* durable. The whole fabric of faith, grace, and all its concomitant vices, as hypocrisy, etc. etc., experienced a total overthrow. The serious boys, as they were called by way of eminence, fell into the utmost contempt, and ever

¹ *Ibid.*, V, p. 357.

after, the leader of a class was styled 'Captain of the Gang': a *convert* and a *thief* were synonymous terms."

In order to impress the boys, they were taken to a grand revival among the colliers, just as other boys might have been taken to see a Van Amburg among lions and tigers. The writer above quoted describes one of these shows, and the effect upon the boys.

"One of those presumptuous and fanatical wretches who assume the character of ministers of God, of the name of Sanderson, preaching to a congregation of ignorant but harmless people; this fellow took upon himself in the name of God to condemn them all to eternal damnation, painting their deplorable fate in the most dreadful colours. Some of his hearers were soon evidently affected by this discourse, which he took care to improve; and he soon made them roar for the disquietude of their souls. The whole congregation were quickly affected in the like manner, one and all exclaimed, 'What shall I do to be saved? Oh! I am damned! I'm damned! I'm damned to all eternity! What shall I do? Oh! oh! oh!' Our performer, observing to what a state he had reduced his audience, redoubled his threats of divine wrath and vengeance, and with a voice terrible as thunder, demanded, 'Is there any backsliders in the presence of God?' A dead and solemn pause ensued, till he exclaimed, 'Here is an old grey-headed sinner,' at the same time striking with his hand violently on the bald pate of an honest old man who sat under the desk. The poor man gave a deep groan, whether from contrition or from the pain of the blow, I know not, for it was far from being gentle. The farce was not yet concluded; when they were strongly convulsed with these convictions he fell down upon his knees, and with the greatest fervency, accompanied with abundance of tears, he entreated the Lord in mighty prayer to have compassion on the poor desponding sinners whom he had brought to a proper sense of their danger. The prayer continued about ten minutes, accompanied by the sighs and groans of the converted and alarmed sinners; when, suddenly starting up, he pretended to have received a gracious answer to his prayer, and with a joyful countenance, pointing towards the window,

exclaimed : ‘ Behold the Lamb ! ’ ‘ Where, where, where ? ’ was the cry of every contrite sinner. ‘ There ! ’ continued the preacher, extending his arms towards the window, where he pretended first to have espied the Lamb. ‘ In Heaven ! In *Colo* ! making intercession for your sins ! And I have his authority to proclaim unto you—Your sins are forgiven, depart in peace !—O, my dearest brethren, Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world ! Could you but feel the rapturous import of the original, your mouths would be filled with praise. *Hecca Hangus Dei ! ki dollite pekkaltus Monday !* ’ The school-boys immediately burst into a loud laugh, on one of the congregation saying, ‘ O the blessed man ! We shall see him again on Monday. ’ ”¹

The same writer, who had been a Methodist for twenty-eight years, says again : “ I have made it an invariable observation that Mr. Wesley, although he was often in the company of sensible men, who were capable of forming an opinion, and presumed to judge for themselves by the light of nature, the evidence of the senses, and the aid of reason and philosophy ; but of such he never attempted the conversion. In his own family and amongst his relations he never attempted, or if he did attempt, he never succeeded: except now and then with a female in whom he found a heart susceptible of any impression he pleased to give. It is remarkable that even the children of Mr. C(harles) W(esley) were never converted. ”

A Failure—Wesley himself admitted the failure of the conversion of the boys of Kingswood by himself in the last days of September, 1770. He revisited the school in September of the following year, and wrote in his *Journal* :—

“ *September 6.*—I spent an hour among our children at Kingswood. It is strange ! What is become of the wonderful work of grace which God wrought in them last September ? It is gone ! It is lost ! It is vanished away ! There is scarce any trace of it remaining ! ”

In this he was mistaken. He had converted these unhappy

¹ *Appeal and Remonstrance to the Methodists*, quoted in the *Memoirs of Jas. Lackington*, pp. 315-17.

boys into infidels or hypocrites, as adults impervious to all religious influences.

As to his family, Wesley declared that his mother, who had spent her life in prayer and the strictest virtue, had not been a Christian till her seventieth year, when she heard him—her son John—preach. Dr. Adam Clarke ventured to dissent from his great master, for he says of Mrs. Wesley; “I have been acquainted with many pious females, I have read the lives of several others, and compared memoirs of not a few, but of such a woman, take it for all in all, I have not heard, nor with her equal have I been acquainted. Such a one Solomon has described, and to Mrs. Wesley I can apply the character of his accomplished housewife, ‘Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all.’”

In his vast self-confidence, Wesley undertook to be a dictator in medicine, and he laid down the laws of cure for diseases in his *Remarks on Primitive Physic*. One of his infallible remedies is as follows :—

“To cure a colic
Suck a healthy woman daily; this was tried by my father.”

The writer of the *Appeal and Remonstrance* already quoted gives a letter from John Wesley, but without other date and address than “City Road, Thursday Morning.” If genuine, its admissions are valuable.

A Letter—

“DEAR SIR,

“Our opinions for the most part perfectly coincide respecting the stability of the Connexion after my head is laid in the dust. This, however, is a subject about which I am not so anxious as you seem to imagine. On the contrary, it is a matter of the utmost indifference to me; as I have long foreseen that a division must necessarily ensue, from causes so various, unavoidable and certain, that I have long since given over all thoughts and hopes of settling it on a permanent foundation. You apprehend the most serious consequences from a struggle between the preachers for power and pre-eminence, and there being none among them of sufficient authority or abilities to support the

dignity, or command the respect and exact the implicit obedience which is so necessary to uphold our constitution on its present principles. This is one thing that will operate very powerfully against unity in the Connexion, and is, perhaps, what I might possibly have prevented, had not a still greater difficulty arisen in my mind. I have often wished for some person of abilities to succeed me as the head of the Church I have with such indefatigable pains and astonishing success established; but convinced that none but very superior abilities would be equal to the undertaking; was I to adopt a successor of this description, I fear he might gain so much influence among the people as to usurp a share, if not the whole of that absolute and uncontrollable power, which I have hitherto, and am determined I will maintain, so long as I live. Never will I bear a rival near my throne. You, no doubt, see the policy of continually changing the preachers from one circuit to another at short periods; for, should any of them become popular with their different congregations, they might possibly obtain such influence as to establish themselves independently of me and the general Connexion. Besides, the novelty of the continual change excites curiosity, and is the more necessary, as few of our preachers have abilities to render themselves in any degree tolerable, any longer than they are new.

“The principal cause which will inevitably effect a disunion and division in the Connexion after my death, will be the failure of subscriptions and contributions towards the support of the cause, for money is as much the sinews of religion as of military power. It is with the greatest difficulty that I can keep them together, for want of the very necessary article.

“Another cause which, with others, will effect the division, is the disputes and contentions that will arise between the preachers and the parties that will espouse their several causes, by which means much truth will be brought to light, which will reflect so much to their disadvantage that the eyes of the people will be opened to see their motives and principles, nor will they any longer contribute to their support when they find all their pre-

tensions to sanctity and love are founded on motives of interest and ambition. The consequence of which will be, a few of the most popular will establish themselves in the respective places where they have gained sufficient influence over the minds of the people ; the rest must revert to their original humble callings. But this no way concerns me. I have attained the object of my views by establishing a name that will not soon perish from the face of the earth ; I have founded a sect which will boast my name long after my discipline and doctrines are forgotten.

“ My character and reputation for sanctity is now beyond the reach of calumny ; nor will anything that may hereafter come to light, or be said concerning me, to my prejudice, however true, gain credit.

“ Another cause that will operate more powerfully and effectually than any of the preceding is the rays of philosophy which now begin to pervade all ranks, rapidly dispelling the mists of ignorance, which has been long in a great degree the mother of devotion, of slavish prejudice, and the enthusiastic bigotry of religious opinions : the decline of Papal power is owing to the same irresistible cause, nor can it be supposed that Methodism can stand its ground when brought to the test of truth, reason, and philosophy.

“ I am, etc.,

“ J. W.”

Wesley's Character as given by a Disciple—The following is the character of John Wesley as given by the writer trained in his school at Kingswood and who had known him for many years.

“ From what I have observed during nearly twenty-eight years that I have known him, I have uniformly found him ambitious, imperious, and positive even to obstinacy. His learning and knowledge various and general, but superficial ; his judgment too hasty and decisive to be always just ; his penetration acute, yet was he constantly the dupe of his credulity and his unaccountable and universal good opinion of mankind. Humane, generous, and just. In his private opinions liberal to a degree inconsistent with strict Christianity ; in his public declarations

rigid almost to intolerance. From this observation of the inconsistency of his private opinions and public declarations, I have often been inclined to doubt his sincerity, even in the profession of the Christian faith. In his temper impetuous, and impatient of contradiction; but in his heart a stranger to malice or resentment; incapable of particular attachment to any individual; he knew no ties of blood or claims of kindred; never violently or durably affected by grief, sorrow, or any of the passions to which humanity is subject; susceptible of the grossest flattery; and the most fulsome panegyric was constantly accepted and rewarded. In his views and expectations sanguine and unbounded, but, though often disappointed, never dejected. Of his benevolence and charity much has been said; but it is to be observed, benevolence is but a passive virtue, and his charity was no more than bribery; he knew no other use of money but to give it away, and he found that a hundred pounds would go further in half-crowns than in pounds;¹ so that his charity was little more than parade, as he hardly ever essentially relieved an object of distress. In fact, his charity was no more than putting his money to interest, as the example excited his followers to the practice of the same virtue, and doubled their subscriptions and contributions. In his constitution warm, and consequently amorous; in his manner of living luxurious and strictly epicurean, and fond of dishes highly relished, and fond of drinking the richest wines, in which he indulged often, but never to excess. He was indebted more to his commanding, positive, and authoritative manner than to any intrinsically superior abilities.”²

The Journal once more—Notwithstanding the conspicuous defects and faults of Wesley’s *Journal* it is a book that every clergyman should read, as a revelation of an ardent soul, flaming with zeal for the salvation of the poor, lost and neglected sheep of the fold of the Great and Good Shepherd.

Although Mr. Curnock’s edition in eight volumes is the

¹ He was wont when proceeding to his pulpit to scatter half-crowns among the poor crowding about it—for which purpose he carried with him a supply.

² Quoted in the *Memoirs of Jas. Lackington*, pp. 311-12.

standard work, and invaluable on account of the notes that elucidate the text, there is a cheap edition published by Messrs. Dent in four volumes, obtainable for a few shillings.

The book is not only one to interest on account of the psychological study it affords, and because of the singular stories it contains, but it must serve to kindle the heart to earnestness in the work of God, unless that heart be as a stone ; and yet, even from a stone, sparks may be elicited.

His Sermons—The great majority of Wesley's sermons were delivered in the open air to immense congregations of men and women, who walked miles to hear him. He owed his success largely to his powerful voice and his graceful attitudes ; above all to his evident sincerity, to the Doctrine, novel to his hearers, and offering a facile salvation, and to his hypnotic influence over rude and emotional rustics and miners.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

THE FIRM BANK

I HAVE a never fading Bank,
A more than golden store ;
No earthly bank is half so rich—
How can I then be poor ?

'Tis when my stock is spent and gone,
And I without a groat,
I'm glad to hasten to my bank
And beg a little note.

Sometimes my Banker, smiling, says,
' Why don't you oftener come ?
And when you draw a little note
Why not a larger sum ?

Why live so niggardly and poor ?
Your bank contains a plenty :
Why come and take a one pound note,
When you might have a twenty ?

Yea, twenty thousand, ten times told,
Is but a trifling sum
To what your Father has laid up,
Secure in God the Son.'

Since then my Banker is so rich,
I have no cause to borrow ;
I'll live upon my cash to-day,
And draw again to-morrow.

I've been a thousand times before,
And never been rejected ;
Sometimes my Banker gives me more
Than asked for or expected.

Sometimes I've felt a little proud
I've managed things so clever ;
But ah ! before the day was gone
I've felt as poor as ever.

Sometimes, with blushes in my face
Just at the door I stand ;
I know if Moses kept me back,
I surely must be damn'd.¹

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Should all the banks of Britain break—
The Bank of England smash—
Bring in your notes to Zion's bank,
You'll surely have your cash.

And if you have but one small note,
Fear not to bring it in :
Come boldly to the bank of Grace,
The Banker is within.

All forged notes will be refused,
Man's Merits are rejected ;
There's not a single note will pass
That God has not accepted.

'Tis only those beloved of God
Redeem'd by precious blood,
That ever had a note to bring—
These are the gifts of God.

¹ The ensuing verse is too horribly profane to bear quotation.

Tho' thousand ransom'd souls may say
 They have no notes at all—
 Because they feel the plague of sin,
 So ruin'd by the Fall :

This bank is full of precious notes,
 All sign'd and seal'd and free—
 Tho' many doubting souls may say,
 There is not one for me.

Base unbelief will lead the child
 To say what is not true ;
 I tell the soul who feels self-lost,
 These notes belong to you.

The leper had a little note—
 ' Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou can.'
 The Banker cash'd his little note
 And heal'd the sickly man.

We read of one young man, indeed,
 Whose riches did abound,
 But in the Banker's book of Grace
 This man was never found.

But see the wretched dying thief,
 Hang by the Banker's side ;
 He cried, ' Dear Lord, remember me ! '
 He got his cash,—and died.

It will be seen that this Wesleyan production accepts wholly and without reserve the Roman doctrine that lies at the back of Indulgences.

III

WESLEY AND METHODISM

RESULTS

Even in the instant of repair and health
The Fit is strongest ; evils that take leave,
On their departure most of all show evil.

K. John, III, 4.

WE have dealt at some length with (I) Wesley's Doctrine ; (II) his Methods ; (III) his Personality. We come now (IV) to the Results.

Of these there were two, the one physical, the other spiritual ; but these were so interfused that it is not possible in all cases to dissociate the one from the other. The first and the most obvious result of his preaching was the scenes of convulsion at the Revivals. The second was the real conversion of souls. We shall speak in the first place of the former, which were obvious to all men.

The Revivals—There was a sensational element usually present that served to attract crowds to Wesley's sermons. This was the physical convulsions into which so many of his hearers were thrown, and which proved an attractive sensation far and wide. Men and women streamed along the roads to the place where a revival, as it was called, was advertised to take place, in the hopes of witnessing the phenomenon of human beings writhing on the ground, leaping like landed fish, screaming, biting the earth ; and not without ambition of being themselves convulsed, so as to produce excitement among their neighbours, drawing attention to their otherwise insignificant selves, and of being talked of as saints, and of feeling themselves to be such.

Scenes at Revivals—Although, nominally and professedly, the crowds came together to hear the Word of God, actually the majority came seeking after a sign, and to

enjoy a sensation. During Wesley's preaching at Bristol "One and then another," we are told, "sank to the earth. They dropped on every side as thunderstruck, cut to the heart by the Word of God." Men and women by scores strewed the ground at once, insensible as dead men.

Convulsions—During a Methodist revival in Cornwall four thousand people, it was computed, fell into convulsions. "They remained during this condition so abstracted from every earthly thought that they stayed two and sometimes three days and nights together in the chapel, agitated all the time by spasmodic movements, and taking neither repose nor refreshment. The symptoms followed each other usually as follows: A sense of faintness and oppression, shrieks as if in the agony of death or the pains of labour, convulsions of the muscles of the neck, trunk, and arms, sobbing inspiration, tremors and general agitation, and all sorts of strange gestures. When exhaustion came on, patients usually fainted and remained stiff." ¹

In these fits some prayed or screamed praises to the Lord, but others poured forth the most horrible blasphemies, and others vociferated very unedifying confessions of sin. It is to be regretted that we have no other account of these exhibitions than those given by the revivalists themselves, or we should undoubtedly have heard of some such strange and indecent exhibitions as qualified the Cevennes Calvinistic Convulsionists. Isaac Taylor, speaking of the results of Berridge's preaching, says:—

"We ought not peremptorily to say within what limits, under circumstances such as these, bodily agitations, which may be easily accounted for, would be confined; but in some instances, they pass quite beyond any limits which it might seem possible to allow as proper to them. Robust men, hale and insensitive, fell in an instant, as if thunderstruck, on the ground, where they roll, plunge, stamp, kick and howl, as if molten brass had been poured into their stomachs. The face is swollen and livid, or it glows with crimson. The access of most mental agonies lasts, perhaps, some hours, and is then, and in a moment, succeeded by a calm or ecstatic joy. The *permanent* result is, in some cases,

¹ W. R., Jan., 1860, p. 194.

good and happy ; in other cases, the contrary ; these instances, moreover, are always intermingled with cases of mere fraud and folly." ¹

Fletcher and these Exhibitions—Fletcher of Madeley, Wesley's intimate friend and disciple, did not directly encourage, but allowed these exhibitions to take place in his church and churchyard. One Christmas Day a constable had to enter the parsonage, owing to the shrieks of a young woman whom Fletcher had driven into convulsions by his exhortations and prayers, and the officer supposed that he was murdering the girl. Fletcher simply remarks that "her constitution is considerably weakened, as well as her understanding," by the religious paroxysms into which he had thrown her. "What to do in this case I know not . . . for my part, I was tempted to forsake my ministry, and take to my heels." ²

The Weardale Revival—The following is an account of the Weardale Revival, taken from Wesley's *Journal* ³ : "Forty-three of these (converted) are children, thirty of whom are rejoicing in the love of God. A few of the children are, Phœbe Featherstone, nine years and a half old ; Hannah Watson, ten years old, full of faith and love ; Aaron Ridson, not eleven years old, but as serious as a woman of fifty ; Sarah Morris, fourteen years of age.

"Mention was made of four young men, who were affected on the second Wednesday in December. These, hearing of the roaring of the people, came out of mere curiosity. That evening six were wounded and fell to the ground, crying aloud for mercy. One of them, hearing the cry, rushed through the crowd to see what was the matter. He was no sooner got to the place than he dropped down himself and cried as loud as any. The other three, pressing on, one after another, were struck just in the same manner. And indeed all of them were in such agonies that many feared they were struck with death. But all the ten were fully delivered before the meeting concluded, which indeed was not till four in the morning. Edward Fairless had been a hearer for many years, but was never convinced of sin.

¹ Taylor (I.), op. cit., p. 42.

² Macdonald (F. M.), *Fletcher of Madeley*, 1885, p. 67.

³ *Journal*, V, pp. 469-70, slightly abbreviated.

Hearing there was much roaring and crying at the prayer-meetings he came to hear and see for himself. That evening many cried to God for mercy. He said he wished it was all real, and went away more prejudiced than before, especially against the roarers and cryers, as he called them. But soon after he got home he was struck to the ground, so distressed that he was convulsed all over. For some hours he seemed to be every moment on the point of expiring, in deep agony both of body and soul. He then lay as quite breathless ; but about four in the morning God in a moment healed both body and soul."

The Jumpers—At Llancreydes, in Wales, Wesley informs us (25 Aug., 1774) : " Some leaped up many times, men and women, several feet from the ground ; they clapped their hands with the utmost violence ; they shook their heads ; they distorted all their features ; they threw their arms and legs to and fro in all variety of postures ; they sung, roared, shouted, screamed with all their might, to the no small terror of those that were near them." ¹

Revivalist Meetings in Cornwall—Mr. E. Sidney, in his *Life of Walker of Truro*, speaks of the " meetings prolonged through the entire night, wherein prudence, reason, and decency were set at mournful defiance. The scenes of itinerancy displayed extravagances incredible and almost indescribable. It is a sickening retrospect, when we read of wild roarings, fits, screams, biting the ground construed into evidences of a Saviour's presence by His Holy Spirit." ²

That the Camp and Revivalist Meetings were far from conducive to morality was well known to the magistrates, the result of a revival usually leading to applications at the Petty Sessions nine months later.³

Some Convulsions not due to Religious Appeals—Such results as convulsions are not always due to religious excitement. At a cotton factory at Hodden Bridge, in Lancashire, on 15 February, 1787, a girl put a mouse into the bosom of another girl who had a dread of mice. The girl was immedi-

¹ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 37. Wesley was not at this meeting.

² *Life and Ministry of the Rev. S. Walker*, 1838, p. 245.

³ The late Archdeacon Stonehouse used to say that September and October were the great times for such applications, the consequences of the " Watch night."

ately thrown into a fit with convulsions and shrieks that lasted continuously for twenty-four hours. On the following day three more girls were seized in the same manner, and on the 17th six more. By this time the alarm was so great that the whole factory, in which from two hundred to three hundred were employed, had to be stopped working. On Sunday Dr. St. Clare was sent for from Preston. Before he arrived three more were seized, and during the night and morning of the 19th eleven more, making in all twenty-four. Of these twenty-one were young women, two were girls of about ten years of age, and one man who had been much fatigued with holding the convulsed wenches. They were all finally cured by electric shocks, and their recovery hastened and completed by administering to each "a cheerful glass," and by making them all dance. On Tuesday, 20th, they had a ball, and the next day were at work as usual.¹ In this case the Revivalist was a mouse, not John Wesley.

Revivals in America—The Methodist Revivals in Illinois and Tennessee in 1801-3 were productive of similar and even more extravagant phenomena. "One young woman went round like a top, we think at least fifty times in a minute, and continued without interruption for at least an hour." Others danced "with a gentle and not ungraceful motion, but with little variety in the step." One young woman danced in her pew for twenty or thirty minutes with her eyes shut and her countenance calm, and then fell into convulsions; some were affected with the "jumping exercise"; some ran "with amazing swiftness"; some seemed to imitate the motion of playing on a violin; others barked like a dog. The barking was noticed among the Convulsionaries of S. Medard in 1727, when religious exultation induced hysterics in young women, and in two years there were seven to eight hundred Paris maidens affected with convulsions. Some—*les sauteuses*—jumped, turning heels over head; some—*les aboyeuses*—barked like dogs; others—*les mialeuses*—mewed like cats.

The account of the revivals in the United States, in the *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher*, is sufficiently startling. The book had gone into its thirty-

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1787.

first American edition in 1858. The book deserves perusal. It demonstrates conclusively that these exhibitions are due to hysteria.

Not confined to Christianity—The diffusion of Mormonism by the preaching of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young was attended by identical phenomena. Castren in his travels in Siberia and Northern Russia among the Ostjaks and Samoyeds describes much the same scenes as produced among these heathen by their Schamans, whole villages being at a time affected with paroxysms. The Society of Friends obtained the name of Quakers from the convulsive agitation of their limbs when in religious frenzy.¹

The Dancing Dervishes represent in Mohammedanism the same curious phenomena of muscular action combined with religious devotion; and in the old Pagan world there were many such exhibitions, as in that of the Bacchic orgies revealed to the Senate of Rome by the Consul Posthumus one hundred and seventy years before the birth of Christ, and these led to gross immorality.

Men and women were wont to go from Athens to Eleusis in order to be "converted" at the Mysteries, and some are said to have led decent lives after that. We have no certain information as to the process pursued in those Mysteries, but efforts were made to excite the imagination and act on the nervous system, which almost certainly produced convulsions, and these as they passed away would leave a conviction of "Assurance."

Ecstatics of Old in Wales—Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote his *Description of Wales* in 1188, shows us that some exhibition of the same quality took place annually at Slwch, near Brecon, at the sanctuary of S. Aled.

A Lapland Revival—The Laplanders, who are Lutherans, communicate before departing in early spring to the mountains. An "Old Bushman," staying at Jookmock, thus describes what he saw on such an occasion:—

"The Communion began, and a curious sight it was to see these little vagabonds run along the tops of the pews, like so many rats on a plank, in hot haste to reach the altar.

¹ We are told that when some of George Fox's preachers harangued their hearers "fell on the ground and foamed at the mouth."

And now commenced a scene such as I never before witnessed in the house of God, and trust I shall never witness again. All at once, when the communion began, two or three women sprang up in different parts of the church and commenced frantically jumping, howling, shrieking, and clapping their hands. I observed one middle-aged female particularly energetic and who sank down in a kind of fit after ten minutes' exertion. The infection soon spread, and in a few minutes two-thirds of the congregation 'joined in the cry,' and all order was at an end. Five or six would cluster round one individual, hugging, kissing, weeping, and shrieking, till I really thought some would be smothered. The religious orgies of the wild aborigines of Australia round their camp fire are not half so frightful as this scene, yet they at least do not desecrate a place of worship with their mad carousals. . . . Strange as it may appear to the English reader, I must say I felt great satisfaction in having my revolver in my pea-jacket pocket; and my fears were not altogether groundless, for it is not long ago that the Laps in just such a fit of fanaticism as this barbarously murdered one, if not two, settlers up at the altar, flogged the priest nearly to death with willow rods, and would have taken his life if assistance had not arrived.

"Meanwhile, during all this uproar, the pastor went on with the Communion service as if nothing was taking place. . . . The riot never ceased till the service had ended; and I must confess that I felt well pleased when I found myself once again outside the door of the church."¹

Revivals in the Roman Church—Not very dissimilar exhibitions take place in the Roman Church.

In the year 1340, when John Tauler was preaching in Strassburg, some of the congregation fell down insensible on the pavement of the church. He was sorely perplexed at the phenomenon; he had these inanimate bodies carried to a convent, where the Prioress exclaimed: "Dear Sir, we have a nun here to whom the same thing has happened and she is lying on her bed as if she were dead." One Peter Böhler, a mystic, and a holy man, told Tauler not to be

¹ *A Spring and Summer in Lapland*, 1864, pp. 66-8.

alarmed, for these were evidences of the working of God in His elect servants.

Blanco White describes such as occurring in Spain during the Spiritual Exercises of S. Ignatius, as conducted by Father Vega at Seville.

The author, in his *Lives of the Saints*, has given instances of jumping, dancing, and spinning Saints in the Roman Communion, as S. Joseph of Cupertino, S. Christina the Wonderful, etc.

Tricks of Revivalists—To produce the physical and psychic results of a revival it is wholly immaterial what religion is preached, or by whom, so long as the revivalist has a strong personality, sincere conviction, and his audience is impressionable.

One of the great secrets of a successful revivalist is a sudden change of tone of voice and attitude. In fact anything that startles when the nerves are highly strung at once produces convulsions and fits.

If during one of Wesley's sermons a waggoner's whip had been cracked or a squib let off, the people would have fallen in scores.

In the great Presbyterian revival in Kentucky early in last century persons "appeared to swoon away and, after lying fifteen or twenty minutes, appeared to be wholly convulsed."

The Shakers—A curious phase of Evangelical Christianity was that of the Shakers in America. The father of the author was in the United States in 1829 when he attended one of their meetings. In his diary he wrote: "They range themselves in two lines, men on one side and women on the other, when one steps forward and makes a short speech as the Spirit moves, they then commence to dance, moving hands and feet together to the tune of a song by the whole. This form of prayer is called Labor, which is practised in private as well as in public worship. I am told they are not confined to psalm tunes, but employ others much more lively, as 'Charley is my darling.' Their sect was founded by an English woman named Ann Lee. The exercise of dancing in the Worship of God was brought to light by a manifestation of the Will of God, when the children of

Israel were delivered from the bondage of Egypt. Celibacy they insist on as being indispensable. The males and females live separately and are not allowed the least communication."

An illustration of the scene represents all the performers as past the middle age, when the fires of youth are exhausted. The men in knee-breeches and short sleeves, the women in mob-caps.

Wesley says of these exhibitions: "After the preaching is over, anyone that has a mind gives out a verse of a hymn. This they sing over and over with all their might, perhaps above thirty, yea, forty times. Meanwhile the bodies of two or three, sometimes ten or twelve, are violently agitated; and they leap up and down in all manner of postures for hours together."¹

Rowland Hill when preaching in Wales saw some of his congregation commence these antics. He speedily put an end to them by saying: "Let us have no more of this mummery and nonsense."

Revivals Conducive to Insanity—That the religious excitement caused by these revivals should cause derangement of mind temporary or permanent is not to be disputed. Unfortunately we have not medical statistics relative to the Wesleyan revivals, but we have information concerning the results following a very similar revival that took place in Ulster in 1860. Concerning this latter Dr. J. Bushnan wrote: "The Protestant Revival which has taken place in Belfast has now prevailed for many months. In common with those members of the medical profession who, like myself, are especially engaged in the care and treatment of the insane, my attention has, from the first, been strongly drawn to the too probable consequences of the excessive mental excitement so long maintained in the province of Ulster. To us who live amidst daily opportunities of becoming familiar with the circumstances under which each particular case of mental derangement committed to our charge has originated, the terrific spectacle presented by such a universal exaltation of feeling is beyond description. We feel that the people have been subjected to a daily

¹ *Journal*, V, p. 27.

ordeal, such as might have been devised for the purpose of testing the extent of their ability to resist the most effective causes of mental derangement.

“The publications which have appeared in succession on the subject of the Revival but too clearly show that our early apprehensions have been fully realized. The more obvious effects of the excitement in question prove to be innumerable cases of nervous disorder, which will, beyond doubt, in many instances result in permanent infliction of Hysteria, Catalepsy, and Epilepsy. But further, those who have most carefully watched the progress of the excitement have brought to light the fact that our worst fears were well founded, inasmuch as numerous examples of insanity have been discovered. . . . I have called upon the well-meaning but too injudicious patrons of the religion of Him Who while on Earth went about curing diseases considering them as answerable for the perpetuation of bodily misery during the lives of many unfortunates, especially while there is so little ground for believing that they can thence derive any spiritual benefit.” Dr. Bushnan quotes the testimony of the chief physician in charge of the Cork Lunatic Asylum, showing that there, where the Catholic inmates stand to the Protestants in the relation of 100 to 1, among the former not a single instance could be traced to religious delusion, whereas several of the Protestants owed their state of madness to this cause ; and among these the majority were Dissenters.

Archdeacon Stopford, describing the same Revival, says : “In a very brief space of time and in a very limited circle of enquiry I saw or heard of more than twenty cases of insanity. I fear a little more enquiry would have extended it largely.”

Wesley and a Dying Woman—On one occasion Wesley was called to the bedside of a young woman at Kingswood. This was an institution that Wesley had founded for the education of orphans in the strictest principles of his religion, and where even the children were pestered and tortured till they could declare themselves to be “converted.” Wesley wrote in his *Journal* : “She was nineteen or twenty years old, but, it seems, could not read or write.

I found her in her bed, two or three persons holding her. It was a terrible sight. Anguish, horror, and despair above all description appeared in her pale face. The thousand distortions of her whole body showed how the dogs of hell were gnawing at her heart. The shrieks intermixed (with prayers) were scarce to be endured. But her stony eyes could not weep. She screamed out as soon as words could find their way, 'I am damned, damned, lost for ever; six days ago you might have helped me. But it is past. I am the devil's now. I will go to him to hell. I cannot be saved.' They sang a hymn, and for a time she sank to rest, but soon broke out anew in incoherent exclamations, 'Break, break, poor stony hearts! Will you not break? What more can be done for stony hearts? Will you not break? What more can be done for stony hearts? I am damned that you may be saved!' She then fixed her eyes on the corner of the ceiling and said, 'There he is, ay, there he is. Come, good devil, come! take me away!'" For more than two hours John Wesley and his brother remained praying over her.

Later, a similar case occurred in Bristol, where a woman gnashing her teeth "began screaming, then broke out into a horrid laughter, mingled with blasphemy grievous to hear." Cases of equally repulsive reading follow.¹

Hysterical Laughter—Sometimes the effect produced was to provoke laughter that was irrepressible. "Wednesday, 21 May, 1740. In the evening such a spirit of laughter was among us that many were much offended. But the attention of all was fixed on poor Lucretia Smith, whom we all knew to be no dissembler. One so violently and variously torn of the Evil One did I never see before. Sometimes she laughed till almost strangled; then broke out into cursing and blaspheming; then stamped and struggled with incredible strength, so that four or five could scarce hold her; then she cried out, 'O eternity, eternity! O that I had no soul! O that I had never been born!'"

Relapse—That many of the Conversions caused by convulsions ended in relapse Wesley was obliged to admit. "Wed., 3 Sept., 1740. I met with one Susan Peck, who,

¹ *Journal*, II, pp. 302-3.

having been lifted up with the abundance of joy which God had given her, had fallen into such blasphemies and vain imaginations as are not common to men. In the afternoon I found another instance, Betty Bush, nearly, I fear, of the same kind."

This is but a sample of what went on extensively.

Wesley's *Journal* contains numerous instances of the manner in which those who had listened to and been affected by his discourses fell into madness, or went to the verge of it.

As to the moral effects of Conversion at Revivals, they are sometimes good, but also sometimes evil.

Doubts Entertained Relative to the Convulsions—

Samuel Wesley, of temperament more cautious than his brother, became uneasy over the phenomena that attended John's preaching. He wrote to his brother: "I have my own reason as well as your authority against the exceeding clearness of the divine inspiration here. Your followers fall into agonies. I confess it. They are freed from them after you have prayed over them. Granted. They say it is God's doing. I own it seems so. Dear brother, where is your ocular demonstration? Where, indeed, is the rational proof? Their living well after may be a probable and sufficient argument that they believe this, but it goes no further."

John Wesley himself believed that these phenomena were manifestations of the operation of the Holy Ghost; but when he discovered by sorrowful experience that no inconsiderable number of his converts, who had been convulsed and convinced of their Justification, had lapsed into gross immoralities, he was perplexed and supposed that the devil counterfeited the work of the Spirit.

Under Control—In time, Wesley came himself to mistrust these manifestations. In his *Journal*, late in life, he records the case of a woman who was "distressing herself and crying" near him; whereupon he told her, "I shan't think any better of you for this," and she immediately desisted. "To-day one came who was pleased to fall into a fit for my entertainment. . . . He beat himself heartily. I thought it a pity to hinder him. So instead of singing over him, as I often had done before, I had him placed out-

side, to recover at his leisure." Again : " A girl, as she began to cry, I ordered to be carried out. Her convulsions were so violent as to deprive her of the use of her limbs, till they laid her outside the door, and then she unexpectedly found her legs and walked off." On another occasion, "Some very unstill sisters, who always took care to stand near me and tried who could cry loudest, since I have had them removed out of sight have been as quiet as lambs." Once more : " The first night I preached here half my words were lost through the noise and outcries. Therefore I gave out public notice that whosoever cried out so as to drown my voice should, without hurting them, be carried to the furthest corner of the room ; but my porter had no employment that night."

Mr. George Dawson of Birmingham, a man of shrewd common sense, remarked at the time of the Belfast revival in 1859-60 : " If Charles and John Wesley found out that these paroxysms were under the control of the will, am I to be blamed because I think that there is no more ground for supposing that these physiological and psychological phenomena under the control of the will have nothing more to do with Christianity than with preaching Mohamedanism." ¹

Disappointments—Wesley met with disappointments, which, however, never shook his faith in his own system.

His doctrine of Free Justification and Sensible Conversion had led inevitably to self-righteousness, to insensibility of conscience, to impurity, falsehood, and dishonesty. He had insisted on attainment through Grace to sinlessness at a bound. Some of his loudest professors conceived that they had reached this, and when going to the Lord's Supper, refused point-blank to take part in the Confession, because, as conceiving themselves free from sin, they had nothing to confess. ²

When the writer was in Yorkshire, he attended a dying Methodist, who, it was well known, had been living in adultery. He strove hard to bring the man to repentance, but without avail. He was met with the answer : " It's

¹ *Biographical Lectures*, 1886, p. 498.

² Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit.*, II, p. 328.

no good talking to me that gait, about repentance. I am a converted and justified Christian. I was made clean from all sin seventeen years ago at a revival in Mirfield."

Wesley himself, at times, hesitated as to the reality of the Conversions that took place at the preaching of himself and his disciples in the pastorate. In the Conference held in August, 1770, he said: "Does not talking of a justified or sanctified state tend to mislead men? Almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and moment pleasing or displeasing to God according to our works, according to our inward tempers and outward behaviour."

It was certain that a good many of his justified saints lapsed into rationalism and infidelity. James Lackington, in his *Confessions*, says that among the atheistical society into which he fell when he turned away from Methodism, nearly all had been converted like himself. Moreover, he expresses distrust in the instantaneous death-bed conversions of which the Methodists make such parade. To him, he says, they seem as delusive as the superstition of an Eastern Indian who dies in full assurance if he lays hold of a cow's tail.¹

Reaction—It cannot be a matter of surprise if, when the first enthusiasm had spent itself, a reaction should ensue to deadness of spirit, indifference, too often to complete unbelief. The religious enthusiast is like a top, keeping upright and humming so long as possessed by vertigo; that over, he falls upon his side inert and silent.

Wesley was far from tolerating anything approaching to Antinomianism; and he was driven to the conclusion that those who reckoned on consciousness of being Justified, and yet lived in sin, were deluded by Satan. Only such as were really converted lived good lives; all others were either self-deluded or were impostors. As S. Paul had said: "Shall we continue in sin that Grace may abound? God forbid."

Permanent results doubtful—We have not, as already said, any statistics as to the moral results of Wesley's Revivals, any more than we have as to the mental disorders

¹ Lackington (J.), *Confessions*, 2nd ed., 1804.

that resulted from them ; if we had, some very curious revelations would have appeared. But in 1859-60 precisely similar revivals took place in Ulster, accompanied by similar phenomena. In this case we have statistics and unquestionable evidence of eye-witnesses, and from these we may conclude that the same results must have followed Wesley's Revivals.

Revivals in Ulster—The *Northern Whig* said : “ In the months of January, February, March, and April, 1859, the number of persons brought before the magistrates amounted to 2761. In May commenced the revivals, over-running the country with their infection up to the present time. In the four months from May to August, 1858, the number of persons brought before the magistrates of Belfast amounted to 3457 ; while in the same four months of this year, 1859, the number of parties, male and female, sentenced to punishment for being ‘ drunk and disorderly ’ ran up to the goodly sum total of 3939, being an increase of no fewer than 482 offenders against God and man in the months during which the ‘ religious manifestations ’ were in full swing. Night after night are places of worship filled with young men and women, preached to, thundered at, frightened out of their senses by threats of eternal condemnation, and livid visions of a place of torment ; and night after night is our police office, as a sort of compensatory retribution, crowded with ‘ drunk and disorderly ’ inmates. The numbers are weekly increasing, and yet we are told that Belfast is becoming a very Eden of Innocence—a temple wherein Morality and Godliness are enthroned and honoured. But we see no proofs of these things—we firmly believe none can be found. Drunkenness and uncleanness of every description are on the increase.” Mr. McIlwaine, a Baptist minister in Belfast, wrote : “ My individual experience, living as I do in its very centre, is that while vice has been checked to a certain extent, this very alleged extent has been most thoroughly exaggerated, and that there is an extreme danger of a very grievous reaction setting in. Just to give an example or two, the Revival Journals boast of drinking habits being all but exterminated, and of public-houses innumerable being closed. I have

ascertained that *no single* public-house in the entire town has been from these alleged causes closed during the past twelve months. It was also stated that *nine* unhappy women were 'struck' and converted during the course of one day, and had left their wretched occupation. I made inquiry immediately afterwards and found that from some of the prevalent causes it was a fact that several of these poor creatures, I believe, nine, had taken temporary refuge in the Union Workhouse; but I also ascertained that in a very few days they, every one of them, returned to their abandoned habits."¹

Free Justification and Immorality—Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, shows that the holding of the doctrine of Free Justification in the Lutheran and Wesleyan sense is compatible with immorality. Under 1776 he wrote: "An acquaintance of mine, a sectary, who was a very religious man, who not only attended regularly at public worship with those of his own communion, but made a particular study of the Scriptures, and even wrote a commentary on some parts of them, yet was known to be very licentious in indulging himself with women; maintaining that men are to be saved by Faith alone."²

Wesley and Antinomianism—He soon found trouble among his own disciples. He "has preserved part of his dialogue with an Antinomian teacher at Birmingham, who assured him that being no longer under the law, he was heir of all things, and had a right to take whatever goods, and to lie with whatsoever woman he pleased. James Wheatley, who was one of the most popular of all the preachers of Methodism, lapsed into the worst licentiousness, and was at last found guilty of adultery and gross indecency. In Wesley's own family the same evil appeared. A young man named Hall—a pupil and intimate friend of Wesley—succeeded in winning the heart of Wesley's youngest sister. He then announced

¹ Oulton (R.), *A Review of the Ulster Revival in the Year 1859*. Also *Ch. Rem.* for April and October, 1860. Also Articles in the *Journal of Medical Science* for the same year.

² So also Curll the Printer, according to Thomas Amory in his *Life of John Bunce*, led a grossly immoral life, was dishonest, and drank till he could no longer see, but was religious, placing all his confidence on his faith in the Atonement by Christ.

his intended marriage to her father and brother, stating that God had revealed to him that he must marry, and that his wife was to be Keziah Wesley. The marriage was agreed upon, when, shortly before its celebration, to the astonishment of Wesley, he abandoned his intended bride, professed his attachment to her elder sister, and boldly declared that his inconstancy was due to a new Divine revelation. The supposed revelation was obeyed, and the deserted sister fell into a lingering illness and died of grief, while Hall speedily developed into an open profligate.

Need for an Evangelical Revival—We have seen what were the physical and psychical results of Wesley's preaching at his Revivals. That there existed countless instances of Moral Conversion due to his teaching we are the last to deny. But that there were other and less satisfactory results is also certain, and that because he preached too much of Luther's in place of the Catholic's doctrine of Justification.

It was of the highest importance that the true doctrine of Justification by Faith should not be lost sight of. For nearly a hundred years the English people had been so drugged with *sirop Tillotsonien* that they had become insensible to the spiritual appeal of Christianity to the human soul. In the eighteenth century there had come about a practical recrudescence of the doctrine of Justification by Works, not formally stated, but practically admitted. Men regarded themselves as admirable Christians if they attended Church once on a Sunday, communicated thrice in the year, sent a guinea to the S.P.G., another to the S.P.C.K., supported the local Sunday school, and only got drunk at a hunt-dinner.

In this there was no surrender of the heart to God. It was a subjecting the life to the world's law of decorum. High time was it that the doctrine of Justification by Faith should be extracted from the lavender in which it had been laid by, and be taught again as a supplement, not as a substitute, to the law of Obedience. S. Paul's teaching was intelligible, the teaching of the English Henrician Reformers was intelligible¹—there was to be no

¹ In *The Institution of a Christian Man*, 1537, and *The Necessary Doctrine . . . for any Christian Man*, 1543.

substitution of formal nostrums for heart-felt submission to God. The teaching of Pauline Justification was needed at this period, and, indeed, at all times has been necessary.

The Wesleyan Doctrine of Justification in Practice—

But, unhappily, the Wesleyan doctrine was quite other than that of S. Paul.¹ It was not Wesley himself, but it was his Evangelical followers who put Justification by Faith in the place of the Moral law, and waged an implacable war upon Good Works, or the strict fulfilment of God's commands. They sang :—

Doing is a deadly thing,
And doing ends in Death,

as though the leading a godly and a moral life incapacitated a man for Heaven and precipitated him into Hell ; good acts themselves were vitiated by original sin, and reliance upon them was unpardonable. Man was to receive and to be content to be a passive recipient of Salvation. Salvation was to be apprehended by an Act of Faith ; the converted had taken his ticket for Heaven, and with it a guarantee that he should not lose it. When once justified, man was to put his hands behind his back and be spoon-fed with Grace all the rest of his life. The practical result of such teaching was what might have been expected by any man with common sense.²

Moral Improvement—If we come to the consideration of the moral success achieved by Wesley and his doctrine, we touch on a subject very difficult to pass judgment upon. There can exist no manner of doubt that the vast majority of Methodists lead godly and just lives. It is also not doubtful that this is *in spite of their tenet of Free Justification by Faith alone*. Just as Presbyterians lead godly and decent lives in spite of their tenet of Predestination and

¹ As already pointed out, the Lutheran doctrine is built up out of a mistranslation of S. Paul's words.

² It is a curious and significant fact that Swedenborg, observing the immoral results of the preaching of Justification by Faith only, in Lutheran lands, in his interpretation of the Apocalypse made the Beast rising out of the Sea to be the laity who hold "the doctrine of Justification by Faith without the works of the law" ; and the beast from the land to be the Lutheran clergy. Again, in the locusts, and the horsemen from Euphrates, he saw Solifidianism, and "horses in vision mean visionary reasonings in regard to the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone."

Election. Common sense and Bible-reading neutralize the poison they have absorbed. But with a certain number the doctrine does work out its poisonous effects.

Little Moral Advantage produced—Mr. Macdonald, in his *Life of Fletcher of Madeley*, says that for the openly wicked some hope might have been entertained, whereas the converted who talked glibly of being justified and sanctified, whilst guilty of drunkenness, hideous immorality, and dishonesty in trade, were so hardened in their sense of security that nothing could be done with them. A Mr. Watson, quoted in the same book, wrote : “ To show that Antinomianism can graft itself upon other stocks than that of the Calvinistic decrees, it was found also among the Moravians and the Methodists, which did not escape.”¹ But Antinomianism was no graft upon Calvinistic and Lutheran stocks, it was the natural floriation. Where Methodism is allowed fully to develop itself, as among the negroes of the States of North America, Antinomianism runs riot.

According to Wesley—Wesley himself tells us how little reformation he had wrought by his preaching : “ I looked to see a chosen generation in the whole tenor of their conversation, showing forth His praise who had called them into His marvellous light. But, instead of this, it (the Methodist Society) brought forth error in ten thousand shapes. It brought forth enthusiasm, imaginary inspiration, attributing to the all-wise God all the wiles, absurd, self-inconsistent dreams of a heated imagination. It brought forth pride, prejudice, censoriousness, judging, and condemning one another. It brought forth anger, hatred, malice, and every evil word and work, all direful fruits of the bottomless pit. It brought forth sad, base, and grovelling affections, such deep earthly mindedness as that of the poor heathen. O souls bowed down to Earth, devoid of God ! ” Fletcher of Madeley wrote : “ There were members who spoke in the most glowing manner of Christ and of their interest in complete salvation, living in the grossest immoralities.”

But that which strikes us as far more dangerous than

¹ Macdonald, *Fletcher of Madeley*, p. 105.

the encouragement of Anomia by this Free Justification is its deadening effect on the conscience, its encouragement of self-righteousness in place of lowliness of spirit.

And Scott—Scott, the Commentator, himself an ardent professor of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith only, was quite conscious that it led to dissolution of morals. He wrote : “ It is certain that thousands through successive generations by the fall of ‘ the man after God’s own heart ’ . . . have taken occasion to commit habitual wickedness under a religious profession and with presumptuous confidence, to the discredit of the Gospel.” When curate of Olney, following John Newton, he wrote on 29 April, 1783 : “ Sure I am that the Evangelical religion is in many places woefully verging to Antinomianism. Our natural pride and carnality being both humoured and fed by it, under the plausible pretence of exalting Free Grace, and debasing human nature. . . . Some excellent men, far before us in every other respect, have been unintentionally betrayed into some mistakes of this kind, that therefore a religion bordering on Antinomianism has the countenance of respectable names, strong prejudices are in most places in favour of it.”¹ “ There are above two thousand inhabitants in this town, almost all Calvinists, even the most debauched of them ; the Gospel having been preached among them for a number of years by a variety of preachers in church and meeting-house.

“ The inhabitants are become like David, wiser than their teachers ; that is, they think themselves so, and in an awful manner have learned to stupify their consciences, vindicate their sloth and wickedness, and shield off conviction.” He goes on to say that there were two meeting-houses in the place, one Independent, the other Baptist, and in neither was Duty taught. As for himself, he adds : “ I am very unpopular in this town, and preach in general to very small congregations. I have a few even at Olney (the population there 2500) who cleave to me, and a small number of those who are my own ; but I labour under great discouragement in this respect, and am generally looked upon as unsound, legal, Arminian.”²

¹ *Life*, by John Scott, 1822, 4th ed., pp. 201–2.

Ibid., p. 208.

He mentions the case of a Dissenting Minister at Cambridge who felt it his duty to protest against the moral laxity of the converted, and who was given to understand by his congregation "that they must part with him if he did not alter the strain of his teaching." His wife urged him to obey his conscience, and go on insisting on the obligation of a moral life in those who professed to live by Faith. He did so, and was expelled.¹

It is true that at Olney Calvinism was uppermost and not Methodism. But both started from the same point, momentary Conversion, personal Assurance, and led in the same direction, though perhaps more precipitately to Antinomianism through Calvinism than through Lutheranism. That the balance is in favour of the latter would appear from the statistics of illegitimacy. In 1910 there were in Wesleyan Cornwall forty-nine illegitimate births out of a thousand; in the same year in Calvinistic Radnor seventy-six in a thousand.

The Mistake made by Wesley—It is not possible to deny that Wesley and his followers did lay hold of many a man and woman who had been living careless lives, or were in sin, and turn them to realize the things of God, and that many of the conversions were sincere. But the mistake they made was to suppose that this was the end instead of the beginning of the spiritual life. Conversion is the turning of an individual out of a wrong path into the direct road; but that is all. Being put in it, he has to push forward to his destination, and not stick at the point where he has been placed and say that he has obtained the object he had in view.

Secessions—"Lord Mansfield told me last year," wrote Charles Wesley to Dr. Chandler, on 28 April, 1785, "that ordination was separation. This my brother does not and will not see, now that he has renounced the principles and practices of his whole life, that he has acted contrary to all his declarations, protestations, and writings."²

As Methodism broke from the Church and assumed all the qualities and character of a schismatical body, if it gained in one way, obtaining complete independence and

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

² Tyerman (Luke), *Life and Times of John Wesley*, III, pp. 439-40.

power of self-government, it lost in another way ; for a good many staid and serious men who had sympathized with the movement, so long as it professed to be within the Church, shrank from it and broke connexion when it revealed itself in its true colours. William Harrison, the Methodist preacher, wrote to his friend, Mr. William Fowler, the antiquary, of Winterton in Lincolnshire, in 1799, from Ashby-de-la-Zouche : " Once more, respecting the people, they are right down dissenters, for they look to their preachers to baptize their children, administer the Sacrament, and bury the dead. What say you to this ? This is quite a new note. Why, I should not wonder, but you and two or three are saying, ' I don't like it. ' "

Summary—Hitherto we have dealt with some of the defects of Wesley's system, and with faults in the man himself, but it must not be left out of consideration that he was divinely commissioned to do an apostolic work in the British Isles. S. Paul had his infirmities, his thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him. But the Apostle was aware of his weakness and did not expose it. Wesley had his thorn and he was unaware of its presence, and took no precautions against it. The condition of the people was such as needed a call to arouse them to a sense of religion, and no other voice than that of Wesley could have awakened them, no other method than his of incessant itinerancy could have kept them aroused.

Religion in the land had died down to a few embers feebly glowing : it had been half extinguished by controversy in the Stuart period, and then almost quenched by the buckets of cold water poured over it in the Latitudinarian period. What Wesley did was to blow up the still living sparks into flame, to make all England glow as a furnace. To doubt that he was called of God to this work is to be blind indeed to God's methods. What Wesley did, and what he was commissioned to do, was to show to astounded England that Christianity was not an opiate, but a stimulant, that the voice of the Gospel was not to sing a lullaby, but to sound a *réveillé*. That accomplished, his mission was at an end. The stir reached the Church, thrilled it, and is potent in it to this day.

But in all God's procedure through human agents the infirmities of humanity manifest themselves. It was so with S. Paul. His doctrine was misunderstood and was perverted by the Marcionites, Valentinians, and later Montanists and Donatists, some in the direction of moral laxity, others in that of ascetic harshness. Nothing can have been further from the purpose of John Wesley than to afford any excuse for Antinomianism as deducible from his doctrine of Free Justification; and yet a large section of those who received his teaching shook the bit out of their mouths and ran into free licentiousness; whereas others champed and curveted and tossed their heads in arrogant self-righteousness, as the horses of the Sun.

S. Paul's teaching was made the occasion for hysterical exhibitions of uttering unintelligible noises and other physical phenomena, and so were the preachings of Wesley. Neither he nor S. Paul understood the origin of these unseemly exhibitions, and the causes are obscure to us at the present day.

"Behold, I will send My Messenger, and He shall prepare the way before Me," said God of His prophet. "And He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver. And He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as silver and gold."

God is ever sending His Messengers, and one of these was John Wesley. Who can doubt it? In the purification of the silver there is much dross to be swept aside to the right and to the left. The refiner watches the metal as it glows, and clears away the scum with diligent care till he can see his own face reflected in the clear and pure silver—then he knows that the work is complete.

There was dross in Wesley's doctrine, there was dross in his methods, there was much dross in his converts; but there was pure silver as well. There is dross enough of worldliness and apathy in the Anglican Church to be purged away, and the purging is proceeding daily, whereas in Methodism it is possibly at a standstill.

Nothing could have distressed Wesley more than the thought that he was founding a schism, and that his Society would break away from the living Church. Yet it has done so. Let us hope and trust that the scum of schism may be

cleansed away, and the scum in the Church as well, and the pure metal be run together into one great ingot, reflecting the face of Christ.

Wesley's Gospel Imperfect—Wesley's gospel was imperfect. It was one-sided. It consisted of but a single vital truth, the need of conversion. But of another great truth, that the converted must progress to Worship, to join with Angels and Archangels and all the Company of Heaven in eucharistic adoration of Christ—of that he had no conception. And it is this great verity that the Church will teach, and is teaching as people can receive it.

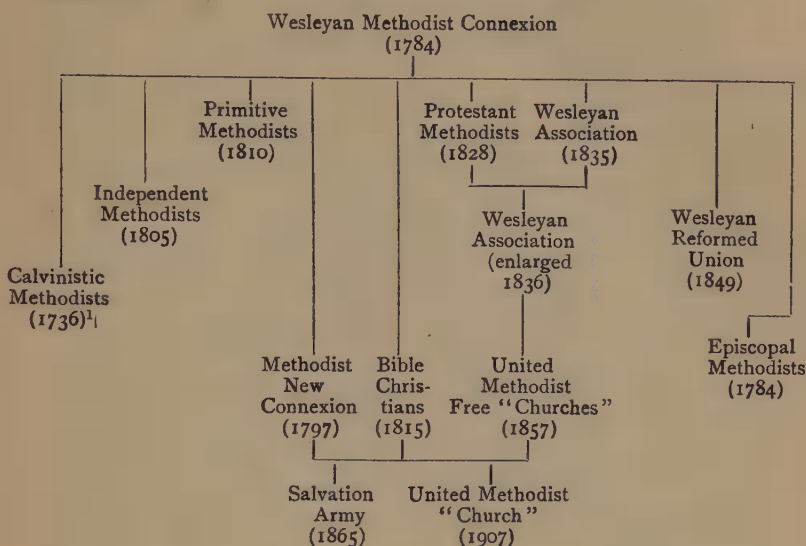
So little idea had he of Christian Worship that he expressed his wish that all his chapels should be octagonal, so that the preacher might occupy the centre, the observed of all observers.

And Erroneous—He erred in his conception of Conversion as conferring sensible self-absolution and converting the Sinner into a sinless condition. But he never held that by Conversion and Justification a man was rendered incapable of sinning. That was the doctrine of the left wing of his party, against which he preached. And the practical doctrine he taught was, as he himself expressed it in his critique on Smollett's account of Methodism: "The love of God and man, gratitude to our Creator, and goodwill to our fellow-creatures."

Permanent Results—George Whitefield's work has scarce left a trace in the Church. That of John Wesley endures. Cleared of its errors, it remains, as marked within the Anglican Church to-day, as it was marked outside it in his day. Convinced as he was of the necessity of Conversion, he exaggerated its effect. He was human, and every man who takes up an idea with zeal is liable to extravagance in urging its merits.

Paracelsus advertised Mercury as a sovereign cure. Dr. Hunter with his Electric Bed proposed to restore health to the most infirm. And in Théology it is much the same. The fanatic has his patent nostrum as well as has the quack; but the medicine of the latter may be worthless, the dogma of the former is an exaggeration of a truth, or a misinterpretation.

The following table of the Schisms, Coalitions, and Developments of Wesleyanism may be looked upon with interest :



Effect on Character—When we come to consider the effect on character and conduct, even upon facial expression and walk, of the Methodist, we find it different from the effect of Catholic doctrine when absorbed and influencing life on the character, demeanour, and deportment of the Churchman.

To a considerable extent the difference is due to the fact that the Churchman has a wider aspect of life and a more intimate knowledge of himself than has the Dissenter. The most learned men are the most humble-minded. The more that they know, the more do they feel their own ignorance. And the Churchman's whole training, if submitted to, is one to cultivate self-diffidence. This is directly the reverse of the Sectarian teaching, whether Lutheran or Calvinistic, which instructs man to concentrate his gaze on his own good points and slur over the faulty ones.

Disregard of Consequences—The doctrine so insistently preached of the instantaneous transformation of a grievous

¹ Methodist organization, but Calvinistic not Arminian doctrine.

sinner into a Saint of light, cleansed of his leprosy and indifferent as to the consequences of his having touched and infected others, is not one that commends itself to the idea of Justice innate in man.

Colonel X. was a well-known personage in 1820, as had been his predecessor in fullness of vice, Colonel Francis Charteris, in 1720. He went by the name of Chicken X. He took a morbid and long-continued delight in the corruption of innocent young girls not out of their teens, and he employed agents to go round the country and into quiet villages in quest of fresh little maidens whom he might ruin and then cast on the dunghill. It was due to this that he acquired the soubriquet of Colonel Chicken.¹

Now, suppose that he were to be suddenly converted—and we have records of the conversions of men as bad as he—would he not be thereupon entitled, according to Evangelical doctrine, so called, to strut the platform of Exeter Hall with a glass in his eye and be acclaimed by the black-coated ministers and the sad-gowned spinsters as a Saint? What about the past? Is he to gloat over his foul crimes to an eager crowd of listeners at a Prayer Meeting? Can the past be undone? What about the lives and souls irrevocably wrecked by this man?—this man now welcomed with clapping of hands and waving of 'kerchiefs? Can he dust his boots with his silk bandana and suppose that he can wipe off the blood of souls from his conscience with like facility?

There is in Brussels a Wiertz Gallery in which are the paintings of that eccentric artist. One of these represents Napoleon, after death, brought face to face in Hell with the victims of his ambition, and cowering before them. This painting has not been transferred to Potsdam.

How will Colonel X. meet his victims?

Consider ex-Kaiser Wilhelm II of Hohenzollern. It is reported that finally he turned pious and found satisfaction in his religion, a hodge-podge of Lutheranism and Calvinism. What! Will not he have to meet his victims eye to eye? The thousands upon thousands slain in battle; the Arme-

¹ *The London Spy*, 1825.

nians massacred at his suggestion, or with his consent ; the maimed through shrapnel ; the 1190 English alone blinded through liquid fire, and the unnumbered tortured through mustard gas ; the mothers and the babes floating in the waves, from torpedoed passenger vessels ; the outraged maidens and wives in Belgium ; the ruined homes of thrifty peasants ; the starved, ragged, and scourged prisoners crawling home—while we have been fattening up the German captives on oil-cake ; the churches blown up ; the outraged graves ; the crucifixes turned into booby-traps by buried explosives designed to blow to atoms the little children who come to kneel there and pray for Jean and Pierre, brother and father on the battlefield !

Are all consequences to be forgotten, to escape punishment, to be bragged about at a Revivalist meeting, and not to be bewailed with tears of blood in the secret chamber ?

What ! Is all past infamy to be exchanged in the twinkling of an eye for Sanctity ? As at a circus one has seen a rider in the ring leap, habited and accoutred as a swash-buckler, through a hoop and alight on the saddle beyond, bearing the aspect, the garb, and the demeanour of an Evangelical pastor ?

Bah ! the doctrine is an outrage on the Natural Conscience. A voice, not that of a local preacher of to-day, but uttered long, long ago, said : “ Woe unto the world because of offences. It must needs be that offences come, but woe to the man by whom the offence cometh.” Is every rascal to shirk this woe, by a spasm of contrition more or less insincere, and a spurt of self-absolution more or less delusive ? It were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were cast into the depths of the sea rather than he offend one of these little ones.

Heaven regarded as a Religious Botany Bay—Are Colonels Charteris and Chicken X., are the profligate but finally converted Duke of Buckingham, the licentious Rochester, George IV, soothed for his passage by the fawning Bishop Sumner, Thurtell, Greenacre, Elizabeth Brownrigg, Pius V, Roger Casement, Crippen, and a thousand murderers and murderesses, who with the rope round

their necks expressed their conversion ; are the Uriah Heeps and Littimers to form the bulk of the Church Triumphant, to take their seats on heavenly thrones encircled by the rainbow, enjoying the harping and the song of the Redeemed, to be the intimates, bosom friends, sharers of the same joys, with Mary the spotless Mother, John the Baptist, the preacher of repentance, Paul, who deemed himself unworthy to be called an Apostle, because he had persecuted the Church of God, with Peter, who desired to be crucified head downwards because he had denied his Lord and Master, with unsullied Virgins and radiant Martyrs ; are these whitewashed reprobates to be crowned with the amaranth wreath due only to those who have been faithful unto death ; are these, without a twinge, with smirks on their lips, lolling in glory, to contemplate their many victims writhing in the torments of Hell ?

Does one not rather picture the converted rascal in the world beyond the veil crouching to, clinging to, the knees of his victims, one by one, imploring their pardon with agonized cries, not suffered to have a drop of cold water to cool his tongue, to slake the internal fire, not to taste a moment's respite from gnawing remorse, till he has wrung a word of forgiveness, a prayer of intercession from each ? This is a picture more conformable to one's sense of equity than that paraded by many a Methodist preacher of the grievous sinner, not against himself alone, but against his fellows, and above all against his God, shouting, " Glory, Hallelujah ! I am one of the elect—never mind the past—that don't count. I am a saint with a halo about my head. And as to honest, truthful, virtuous, humdrum Christians who have not experienced Saving Faith—let them clean my boots throughout eternity."

God forbid that we should deny or even seem to deny admission into eternal life to the sincerely repentant seeking pardon with tears, and reliance on redeeming love ; saved but so as by fire, the fire of remorse. With God all things are possible. The Penitent Thief entered Paradise with Christ, and Mary Magdalen is calendared among the Saints. The Blood of Jesus cleanses from all sin, but only after anguish of repentance has been endured. David was a

murderer and an adulterer, but he obtained pardon only after having sobbed out his *Miserere*.¹

Nor is this all. Who can doubt but that when the miscreants pass beyond the veil and realize the evil they have done, that with streaming eyes and hands quiveringly lifted to the throne of Grace, they plead with bitter cries that the evil they have done may be redressed?

What priest who has had dealings with souls can deny that out of foul precedents has often been born wondrous recovery? From the leprous Cagots has sprung a hale race of vigorous peasants. Out of the filthiest slime in which were engulfed lost seeds of Grace, have risen flowers of exquisite whiteness, and others golden as the crowns in Paradise. There is moral as well as physical recuperation wherever life exists.

We believe in the Communion of Saints. We know that those who have gone before who have loved and served God and have lived unsullied lives, seeing God face to face—that they do plead for their dear ones left behind, that they may be retained in the unity of the Faith, in innocence of life, and in the Worship of the Lamb that was slain. But further: Can we not trust that there may rise out of Hades a supplementary chorus of Intercession from another multitude? Also one which no man can number, a chorus of prayer from those who have led evil lives, have drawn some of their brethren astray, some wilfully, some ignorantly—from those who, their eyes being opened to see the consequences of their acts, the scandal of their example, may break cries of agonized sorrow and entreaty, pleading for such as they have wronged and misled, cries of appeal addressed to that pierced Side whence flowed blood and water, a fountain ever open to pardon and to cleanse? May we not think that such prayers must be even more fervent and intense than those uttered by the white-robed host? Prayers that the wounds they have dealt, the wreckage they have wrought, may be healed, may be restored? Prayers put up in a new-born faith in Him Who came to redress all wrongs and to make all things new?

¹ Even the Pagan moralist could see how that when the eyes were open to the evil of a self-indulgent gross life the result would be a shrinking and shrivelling up at the revelation. Persius, *Satires*, III, 38.

Once more. May we not trust that, after wave upon wave has gone up to the throne of God from these stricken and penitent spirits, that on their horizon may rise a star of hope, that the streaks of dawn may lighten their tear-filled eyes, and that Hope may spring out of new-born Faith and awakened Charity, a Hope that will eventually be swallowed up in Certainty of Pardon.

That is another thing altogether from the doctrine of the Methodist, who would exalt the biggest scoundrels to heavenly places, make the overwhelming bulk of the redeemed to consist of converted reprobates, and relegate, if not certainly to Hell, at all events to a low and shabby bench those modest souls who have done their duty, however imperfectly, in this life, but have not dared to acquire "Assurance." A doctrine that would convert Heaven into a Paradisiacal Botany Bay for Converted Blackguards. And what an uncongenial society would be there for the meek and lowly in heart, to have the Everlasting Halls ringing interminably with stale police news; to hear Crippen throughout eternity sawing out his sordid tale of how he cut up his wife and eloped with Miss Le Neve, disguised in boy's clothes; to associate with Innocent III, through endless ages rubbing his hands and chuckling over the deflowered Albigenian virgins, the children spiked on lances, the streams of blood running from cut heretic throats, the men and women leaping and shrieking in fire—all the work of his Crusaders under the banner of the Cross Keys—it would be sheerly intolerable.

"The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart : and will *save such as be of an humble spirit.*"

IV

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CONVERSION

Bless thee, Bottom, bless thee, thou'rt translated !

Midsummer Night's Dream, III, 1.

A PROCESS Based upon Experience—Conversion is a process founded upon the facts of personal experience. It may be defined as a change in the direction of life ; a break in its course, and, so far as concerns the moral and spiritual being, a partial or a complete discontinuity with the past. It is the magnetizing of the needle of the soul, so that it takes one steady point to which it gives indication, and from which it cannot be diverted so long as it remains magnetized.

It is asserted that the centre of gravity of the moon has changed. Originally it was equidistant from every part of the circumference. It is so no more. Owing to some tremendous convulsion that has seamed and pock-marked its face the centre about which it rotates has been displaced.

It is so with the man who has been converted. His centre of gravity is no longer where it was, and it is about this new centre that his thoughts, his aspirations, his acts revolve. Or, to take the other illustration hinted at, his soul, which oscillated purposeless and without direction, is magnetized and points and finds its rest in pointing to God.

Assurance—*Assurance* is the ineradicable conviction entertained as to this change in the centre of gravity having occurred, as to the needle of the soul having been magnetized. If it go beyond this and assume absolute security for the future, as shall be shown in the sequel, Assurance may become a serious spiritual danger, as engendering a confidence that is very far from any entertained by S. Paul, or recommended by him.

Not Confined to Christianity—Such a change is by no

means peculiar to Christianity. It took place, notoriously, in the life of Sakya-Muni, the Founder of Buddhism. It attended in a thousand cases on initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.

These and the Mysteries of Isis and Mithras not only produced *Conversion*, but also conveyed *Assurance* to those who had passed through them. Thus Apuleius describes how the Goddess Isis said to him in vision after he had passed through the Revival: "Thou shalt live happily and peacefully under my protection; and when thou hast run through thy allotted time of life, and enterest the underworld, there shalt thou find me as well, ruler of the Stygian realm, shining amid the darkness of Acheron and dwelling in the Elysian fields. Thou shalt find me gracious unto thee."¹ She proceeds to inform him that she will lead those who by her grace are regenerate into new paths of salvation. Similarly we learn from Ælius Aristides that those initiated in the Orphic mysteries, or at Eleusis, had afforded to them bright hopes for a future life. In fact, almost all the Mysteries appear to have promised and to have given *Assurance* of redemption and immortality.

It is consequently a mistake to suppose that Regeneration by Conversion, and Assurance of Acceptance and of Salvation are peculiar to Protestantism. They pertained every jot as fully to Paganism. The methods slightly differed. To the emotions of the æsthetic Greeks the appeal was scenic; to the boorish English, descriptive. The results—Conversion and Assurance—were absolutely identical. There was nothing supernatural about either. They are explicable on psychological grounds.

Nor always Conducive to Faith—Nor does it always and inevitably lead to fixity of faith and to amendment of life. By no means infrequently it adopts a reverse direction, and after an agonized struggle and labour of the spirit, the mind settles down into the repose and assurance of Natural Religion, or even of Atheism. This has been the experience of many in England, of more in France and Italy. It was so with Harriet Martineau, who, after a struggle, attained to peace and "unification of self" in acceptance of Atheism.

¹ *Metam.*, XI, 6

Jouffroi, the philosopher, a man of blameless life, had been reared in the Catholic faith and had embraced it with fervour, but after a great spirit-quake, he definitely turned his back on Christianity, thenceforth never felt the smallest desire to believe ; and, in dying, bade that the shutters of his windows should be closed to exclude every ray of light so that he might expire in darkness. He had already, years before, shut the shutters of his soul, quite honestly, to the sunshine of the Faith, because he felt that he could find repose for his soul groping in philosophy, not resting on Revelation. Such a soul does find repose and Assurance in its Negation of Revelation.

Religious Conversion—But it is with what is commonly regarded as Religious Conversion that we have to deal. Dr. W. James thus describes it as being either “ gradual or sudden, by which a self, hitherto divided and consciously wrong, infirm, and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right, superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.”¹

This definition is, however, not quite satisfactory. The conscience may have been easy till something occurs that reveals to it the existence of two forces within, and then only does the unhappiness arise with the conviction of internal strife. In many a case life has flowed evenly like Jordan, till suddenly arrested, and the waters have stood up in a heap, as the ark has entered into its bed ; and when it resumes its course it is to ripple and eddy and whisper round the twelve stones marking a crisis in its career and proclaiming that God had passed that way. Man has lived in indifference to religion, with no thought of responsibility for his acts, maybe in mortal sin. Then, more or less suddenly, he reaches a point in life’s journey from which he looks back on the road he has trodden, and on the prospect before him, and he becomes alarmed, recognizing his saunterings and divagations in the past and the arduousness of the journey that lies before him. He becomes aware that he must take his life more seriously, grasp his staff more firmly, and set his face resolutely in the direction he must go. Well is it if this awakening be permanent, and not transient, and be not

¹ James (W.), *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, p. 189.

succeeded by a relapse, and the last state of that man be worse than the first.

Conversion not Necessary for all—That such a Conversion is necessary for all we have no right to suppose. There are thousands who, from childhood, have lived in the sunshine of God's presence and have steadily grown in grace ; whose wills have been in subordination to the Will of God. These be the virgins that follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth.

But for many a real Conversion is needful. However, we cannot be sure that one which is sudden is that on which most reliance for stability can be placed. Jonah's gourd sprang up in a night and as speedily withered away. Abrupt starts of piety may turn to licentiousness. The large white puff-ball, *Lycoperdon giganteum*, that shows after a thunder-storm is delicious as a mushroom when fresh. In a few days it changes colour and becomes a deadly poison. Conversion must be judged by its fruits and not by its first show.

The Periods in Life—The age of infancy is one of absorption of ideas, of acquiescence in authority, of subconscious life. The child is self-centred, grasps at everything that conduces to its personal gratification.

But with puberty a great biological change takes place, there is not only physical transformation, but one that is psychic as well. "At this time the person begins vitally and physiologically to reach out and find her life in another."¹ The individual characteristics manifest themselves more or less definitely. The leaf of real life breaks through the clod that has hitherto constrained and concealed it. The intellect exhibits independence, and at the same time the Mystic element in the soul escapes from concentration on self and radiates forth towards an ideal beyond self. It seeks after Union. For the first time it is sensible of incompleteness. It goes out of itself in Love, in Friendship, in Artistic Enthusiasm, in Scientific ardour, in the glow of Poetry, above all, in strain towards God.

The Quest of God in His Works—This seeking after God as the satisfaction of the soul is the highest type of Conversion. It perceives God in all His works. Everywhere can be seen, by those who have eyes to see, the *Anerithmon*

¹ Starbuck (E. D.), *The Psychology of Religion*, 1899, p. 147.

gelasma, the twinkling smiles of the sun sparkling in every dew-drop, flashing in every wave, glowing in every cloud, and in them sees God.

The soul, conscious of an altruistic yearning, seeks and finds what it desires in a loved consort, a sympathetic friend, in art, in music, in nature. But there be those whom such intermediaries do not satisfy. They recognize them as sparkles, reflexions of the orb on high, God Almighty, and they look beyond such media to the source of all life, all beauty, all holiness, all knowledge, and all wisdom.

Conversion usually Coincides with Adolescence—It is mainly at the period of the great biological change mentioned, and which takes place among females at about the age of thirteen, and among males at or about the age of sixteen, that individuals are most impressed with religious convictions and most capable of being converted. It is a period of moulting old ideas to grow others that are new, of change from down to plumage. It is then that the heart uncloses and expands, like a flower that has hitherto been a folded bud. And it is for this reason that the English clergy very judiciously select these ages of severally thirteen for girls and sixteen for boys as most suitable for Confirmation.

Two Types of Conversion : 1. Conviction of Sin—The psychological explosion, that we term Conversion, exists and manifests itself in two forms. (1) The first and most common is the acquisition of *Consciousness of Sin*; as when Adam and Eve hid themselves from the Presence of God, because, for the first time, they realized that they were naked, and were consequently ashamed; also, as when S. Peter exclaimed: "Depart from me for I am a sinful man, O Lord!" Thereupon ensues a struggle between the animal man and the spiritual man, between the Old Adam and the New. This is well shown us in the case of Augustine, disclosed in his *Confessions*. In that classic narrative he exhibits a picture of discordant personality, where the Will is present, but how to perform he knows not. Dr. James says: "There could be no more perfect description of the divided will, where the higher wishes lack just that last acuteness, that touch of explosive intensity, that enables

them to burst their shell and make irruption into life, and quell the lower tendencies for ever.”¹ We possess abundant testimony to the same battle in the lives of the Puritan Saints. This conflict is prefigured in the story of the lad possessed by the deaf and dumb spirit, that was cast out by Christ ; the devil when he came forth “rent him sore” and left him as “half dead.” And this last touch shows the condition of prostration that invariably follows such an inward strife and victory.

2. Spiritual Aspiration—It is unnecessary for us to produce further instances, they meet us in all Puritan and Methodist religious records. (2) The second form consists in the aspiration of the soul to the *Summum Bonum*. The Greek and Roman were imperfectly conscious of sin, but entertained aspirations after the knowledge of God. Plato says in the *Symposium* : “The true order of procedure is to use the beauties of earth as steps along which one mounts upwards for the sake of that other Beauty, going from one to two, from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair actions, and from fair actions to fair notions, until from fair notions we arrive at the notion of Absolute Beauty, and at last know what the essence of Beauty is.” To a far higher extent is this developed in the Christian or in the Deist, who discerns the infinitely holy and Perfect in Love and in Beauty, in Creation, and in Art. He looks through these as through a veil to discover the divine Glory behind. S. Bonaventura wrote a book on the Ascent to God by the scale of His Creatures ; and the Mystic does not halt at any of the steps in the ladder, but pursues the ascent. As Mrs. Russell Gurney wrote relative to Mr. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, the friend of Carlyle, his life was “the sigh of an exile. . . . He never took root in our world. . . . To him the world and all it contains, except human spirits, the whole scenery and circumstances of life, was but a language in which, when rightly interpreted, man might decypher the idiom and accents of a more permanent home. ‘What does it all mean?’ he would ask, as we passed under the waving boughs, and he looked round with a sort of wondering gaze, as if he were the inhabitant of some distant planet just

¹ Loc. cit., p. 173.

dropped upon the earth. . . . The feeling I have tried to describe made all Nature wondrously, endlessly, interesting to him. . . . Once in this journey to have met a fellow-traveller to whom all the scenery of life, all that most interests ordinary human beings, is but the furniture of an inn—this is an experience which none can wish to exchange for any other, except those who do not value it at all.”¹

Can one not understand Linnæus falling on his knees and bursting into praise and glory of God when he first saw a moorside golden with gorse? Or the English traveller bending in worship of the King of kings when his eyes rested on the west front of Orvieto Cathedral? Or, once again, the village blacksmith, on hearing for the first time Handel’s *Messiah*, with tears streaming down his cheeks, sob out, “God is good! Oh, how good God is!”

It was this same Mysticism that inspired Keble to sing of the Book of Nature :

The works of God above, below,
Within us, and around,
Are pages in that book, to show
How God Himself is found.

Dangers of the Mystical Ecstasy—That this elevation of the soul towards the Father of Spirits unless held in restraint by the reason is liable to great dangers, is what the history of the Church and the Lives of Mystic Saints disclose to us. S. Paul underwent the experience and reached that point at which he could declare that he desired to be dissolved and be with Christ. But he did not allow himself to be carried away by it to the neglect of sublunary duties.

The great peril of over-exaltation in Mystic rapture is due to its close alliance with sensuality. A very attenuated film intervenes between passionate yearning after holiness and very earthly amatory propensities. This is exemplified in the cases of monks and nuns condemned to compulsory celibacy. It is hard to distinguish where one ends and the other begins.

Spiritual Marriages—Henry Suso thought that he had been married to Eternal Wisdom. He describes how she

¹ Gurney (E. M.), *Letters of Emilia Russell Gurney*, 1902.

approached him and said: "Give me thy heart, my child!" With the utmost devotion he replied: "Ah, my heart! behold whence flows love and all bliss! Thence come all tenderness, fairness, joy of heart, and loveliness. Up, up thou heart and sense and mind, up into the unfathomed abyss of all beauty! Who shall restrain me now? Now I embrace thee with the desire of my burning heart."

Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, fancied that in a transport of devotion he had been married to the Blessed Virgin and had exchanged rings with her. The Blessed Herman Joseph—a most egregious liar, by the way—in an ecstasy was married to Our Lady by an Angel, who joined their hands and said: "See, I give thee this Virgin in marriage, as she was married to Joseph, whose name do thou take to thyself as thou receivest this his bride."

S. Catherine of Siena supposed that she had been married to Our Lord, and wore the ring of her espousal. So did S. Rose of Lima, and many another. If any one would care to see the extravagance, the sensuality disguising itself under the appearance of devotion, let him read the Diary of the Blessed Marie de l'Incarnation,¹ or the erotic poems of S. John of the Cross, too offensive for quotation; *The Obscure Night*, *The Living Flame of love*, the *Spiritual Canticle between the Soul and Christ*; also Leonard Hansen's *Life of Rose of Lima*, 1664; and the *Life of S. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi*, where the sensuality is plainly admitted. The subject is too disgusting and too profane for one to care to deal with it further.²

¹ The author has quoted a passage in his *Lives of the Saints*, 1898, Nov. 24, p. 537. These erotic vapourings are prevalent and encouraged among Presbyterians, as we may judge by the repulsive memoir of a Scottish religious sensualist by Horatius Bonar. *A stranger here: a memorial of one to whom to live was Christ, and to die gain*. This nauseous stuff has gone through several editions.

² If anyone would desire to be filled with disgust at the sickly sentimentalism of Romish Saints over the Blessed Virgin let them read that book *The Glories of Mary* by Alfonso di Liguori. There are English and American translations, but these omit or modify some of the worst stories. However, here is one for the imitation of the Faithful that has not been toned down. "Let us love her" as did "Father Jerome of Texo, of the Society of Jesus," who "rejoiced in the name of slave of Mary, and as a mark of servitude, went often to visit her in some church

John Wesley found that a good many of his converts, after a rapturous Conversion lapsed into the foulest sins. Fletcher of Madeley had the same experience. Dissenting revivalists, if they dared reveal the facts, could produce very terrible evidence of the grossest immorality being coupled with convulsions of religious excitement. Possibly, as they are itinerants, these truths are concealed from them. But they are well known to the police and to magistrates.

It is remarkable what a tenderness the Roman Church exhibits for these neurotic imbeciles. That she should show motherly love to her morbid, half-crazy children is one thing, to exalt them into a place in her Martyrology instead of hushing their silly speeches in an asylum is another. The Spartans did not exhibit drunken helots to the young of Lacedæmon to stimulate them to follow their example, but to deter them from making beasts of themselves.

The effect of this cult of hysterical girls and women, and collecting their twaddle as revelations from on high, has had a mischievous effect on the mental condition of Romanists. Conceive what would have been the effect on Methodism had the visions and prophecies of the Wesleyan ecstasies been recorded as Divine oracles to which every Methodist was bound to give credence. They have happily had too much good sense to do that.

Aspirations after God often due to Sudden Conversion—

Let us turn to something more wholesome.

It may be supposed that attainment to the beatitude of the vision of God is only arrived at by a long process of "ascent to God." But this is not always the case, as we learn from the *Life of S. Teresa*. She frankly admits that she did not reach anything of the kind till she was forty years old. Till then prayer was a weariness to her. She watched the clock impatiently for the end of the Divine Office; she tells us that it was a veritable vexation to her to have to go to the Oratory for worship. But then, quite suddenly, came

dedicated in her honour. On reaching the church, he poured out abundant tears of tenderness and love for Mary; then prostrating, he licked and rubbed the pavement with his tongue and face, kissing it a thousand times, because it was the house of his beloved Lady." *The Glories of Mary* 1852, p. 38.

the change. In her own words : " It happened to me one day, upon my going into the Oratory, that I saw a picture which had been brought there to be kept for a certain festival that was to be celebrated. It was of Christ the Lord, very full of wounds, and it was so devoutly made that when I looked upon it it moved me greatly, for it excellently expressed what He had suffered for us. And the sense of the small amount of gratitude to Our Lord, which I had shown, was such that methought my heart would break. And I cast myself down . . . beseeching the Lord very earnestly that I might offend Him no more. . . . And I am fully convinced that He granted it ; for, from that day, I have gone on improving much in my spiritual life."¹

Attainment—"Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee." These words of Isaiah exactly express the condition of the soul that has attained to rest in God. The soul is like a child reposing satisfied, secure and happy in the arms of its parent. S. Teresa thus describes the condition : " There is excited in the interior of the soul so great a sweetness that it causes the soul to perceive very clearly the presence of Our Lord near by. This is not that kind of devotion which excites greatly to tears ; for, though these experiences cause a certain tenderness, when one weeps over Our Lord's Passion, or over our own sins, yet this is not so great as the Prayer of Quiet, on account of the repose it produces in all the powers, so that the person seems to possess God just as fully as He would desire. With this sweetness the whole interior and exterior being seems to entertain delight, just as if some very delicious ointment were poured into the inmost part of the soul, like a most exquisite perfume. It is as if we came suddenly into a place where it exhales, and that not from one object but from many ; and we know not what it is, nor whence the fragrance comes, but all the odours penetrate one. And, in like manner, the most exquisite love of God seems to enter into the soul and satisfy it, without the soul understanding what it is."²

Conversion Consequent on a Process—To entertain the

¹ *Life of S. Teresa, written by herself, c. 9.*

² *The Way of Perfection, Bk. II ; Conceptions of Divine Love, c. 4.*

idea, so general in Wesleyanism, that Conversion is due to the miraculous interposition of God, to a sudden descent of the Holy Spirit on a man, instantaneously changing his heart, is not in accordance with psychology. We know that all the elements conducing to this phenomenon have been accumulating and ripening for the convulsion.

No one doubts that before Etna or Vesuvius erupts, there has been a slow generation of the forces underground that in a moment produce the phenomenon of explosion. The sea water has for some time been filtering through fissures into the rocks that contain metal veins, and chemical action has been in progress. So is it with Conversion. A process has been going on, unsuspected, or unheeded, which only reveals itself in Conversion, and only then because of the biological change that has taken place.

When the Psalmist said : " He shall touch the mountains and they shall smoke," he spoke in accordance with the ideas of his time. He attributed a volcanic eruption to the external application of the finger of Jehovah to the apex of a mountain, whereas the cause actually was the bursting forth of gases and of molten matter bred in the bowels of the earth by natural laws.

It is so with Conversion. It is no miracle, it is a produce of natural processes, the materials have been accumulating since infancy. We do not dispute that it is God who is the cause ; for He made man, and gave to his spirit the faculty of incubation of all that is necessary for the final explosion.

The subconscious life is like an underground vein of water that flows on unmarked and unsuspected till it encounters a fault in the rocks, that forces it up into the light of day. That subconscious life has taken up many a wholesome word of advice, many a text casually heard, many a useful lesson from example, and these now produce their effect. Henry Suso was not converted till his eighteenth year, though he had always been a pious boy, yet he had not experienced the awakening of his soul till he strode out of boyhood into manhood. Only then did he feel a final separation from everything that could be called worldly, and obtain a complete dedication of himself to the Eternal Wisdom, which dedication was thenceforth to be the

motive power of his life. With Suso this spiritual change was not called forth by any human influence or exterior incident. It was the sudden floreation of the seeds sedulously sown in his heart during his long monastic training as boy. Now, says he, he sought "some other thing which would bring peace to his wild heart," in place of play with tennis balls, and yarns over the fire from the *Gesta Romanorum*, or walks in the woods and watching the habits of the birds. He attributed the change to "the enlightenment, hidden drawing by God," which worked speedily in him to turn him away from (finding pleasure in) the Creatures." "Without exception," wrote Dr. Starbuck, who examined and analysed a large number of cases of Conversion, "the cases studied, no matter how suddenly the new life bursts forth, have antecedents in thought or action that appear to lead up directly to the phenomena of Conversion."¹ In other words, apparent spontaneous awakenings that seem abrupt and sudden have actually been led up to by underground processes.

Visions and Revelations—A noteworthy feature in cases of mystic ecstasy and among the converted is the prevalence of hallucinations, taking the shape of visions and the receiving of revelations. Wesley was frequently aware of these phenomena and gave great credence to them. Their prevalence among the mystic saints of the Roman Church is notorious, and her divines put confidence in them to a degree surprising to men of common sense. S. Bridget of Sweden sewed her husband up in a sack and made him hop after her on a pilgrimage to Compostella. Happily he had a convenient revelation on the way that by entering a monastery he might release himself simultaneously from the sack and from an imperious wife, and this he did. Relieved of her husband, Bridget gave herself up to seeing visions and receiving revelations. Our Lord—so she said—had appeared to her and formally appointed her His commissary to convey communications from Himself to the princes and people of Europe. Accordingly she sent about her revelations that were gravely entertained. The people of her

¹ Op. cit., p. 105.

native land were inclined to be dirty, and disinclined to wash. But Christ in vision informed her that it was His good pleasure that they should tub once in three weeks or at the outside once in a month. And actually a cardinal in England, and an Englishman to boot, has quoted the revelations of this woman, placing them almost on a level with those in Holy Scripture.

Margaret Mary Alacoque—(Egg in its shell)—what a name! a parboiled, scrofulous and half-witted girl, actually was the occasion of the introduction of the Worship of the Sacred Heart into the Roman Church throughout the world! We may expect next, on much such an authority, the cult of the liver of S. Joseph to be actively urged on the Faithful by the Jesuits, and indulgenced by the Pope. It were well if the caution given by S. Teresa were taken to heart, to put little or no trust in these visions, to beware of them as in many cases false and dangerous.

The author knew an old Wesleyan woman in Yorkshire who assured him that she had received pardon for all her sins and assurance of Salvation through a vision of pigeons in her room, that fluttered round her and dropped blood upon her from their "nebs." Also a stone-breaker by the wayside described to him how his Conversion was due to a ball of fire, which he saw rolling along the high road from Wakefield to Horbury, that reached him and set him "all ablaze." Thenceforth he was a new creature, cleansed of his sins and meet for Heaven.

Divine Action—Although we have pointed out that Conversion is psychologically explicable, the author does not for one moment deny that God may so bring matters about that the slumbering conscience may be awakened, whether by a rousing sermon, or a casually dropped text, a word from a friend, a bereavement, an escape from danger, etc. All we have contended for is that there is material ready prepared for a conflagration, only awaiting the proper touch of fire to set it alight.

Dubious results—The author in Iceland, on a rising hill above Myvatn, a lake in the north-east of the island, saw a mountain range from which rose columns of white steam and smoke. "He shall touch the mountains and they shall

smoke." The words started to his lips. But when he visited the chain he saw only boiling pools of slime that emitted sulphurous vapours. In far too many cases, where it has been assumed that the finger of God has touched, the result has not been an awakening to righteousness and rejection of sin, but a puffing up in self-righteousness, an assurance that checks effort after holiness ; may be even a relapse into evil slime-pools, not a breaking into fountains of fire.

Three Stages in Conversion—Actually, Conversion goes through three stages. (1) The first is the awakening of the soul to conviction of sin or to the love of God. (2) If the former has been violent, then ensues a sense of exhaustion after struggle, and repose in what has been gained. (3) Reaction.

Dr. Crozier mentions the case of a friend who was converted. Some time after he asked him whether he was quite sure that his Conversion was due to the Interposition of God, or to mere excitement of the feelings. He was startled to receive as answer that this was precisely the doubt that was agitating his—the converted man's—mind.

Reaction is sure to ensue ; and that is the most critical period of all. The future depends on whether the effects of the reaction are resisted, or whether they be succumbed to.

Suso relates how that he himself, after his Conversion, and the recovery from the calm that followed the storm, fell into profound depression, accompanied by distress of mind. He felt lonely and craved for love and friendship. Then he visited his old comrades for "the lightening of his spirit ;" but had to return from them sadder than when he went. Thus he continued for some time, like a flagging flower deprived of water. One day, however, when "sharply pressed by heavy suffering," he entered the choir of the chapel, and instantly was rapt in spirit, whether in the body or out of the body he did not know, and saw and heard things which no tongue could utter. "It was without form and fashion, yet had in itself the joyful pleasure of all forms and fashions. His heart was eager, and yet satisfied, every wish being fulfilled, every desire removed."

Assurance—(2) The second stage of Conversion is that in

which lassitude sets in, due to the exhaustion, psychic, and physical which the convert undergoes. Such a state is described by all who have passed through the crisis, and it brings with it Assurance, that is to say Confidence of Victory; and too often as well confidence that further effort is not required, so complete has the victory been. Biologically, this phase is comprehensible enough. It is inevitable, unless the sufferer goes mad and commits suicide. It is regarded as a gift of God, a seal of acceptance, whereas it is a natural consequence of exhaustion of powers.

It attends every exertion, every description of contest. After a wrestling match, or a game of football, those who have contested are glad to sit down and recruit; and after an internal conflict the same need for a lull is felt.

Precisely the same lull and same sense of Assurance succeed a contest in which the man fights against religious convictions previously entertained, and casts them aside for ever and a day. He also feels Peace, perfect Peace, when he has rejected Christianity. Further, the criminal *if he had undergone a struggle with his conscience*, and has rejected its promptings, also finds Peace, perfect Peace.

J. H. Newman—(3) As regards John Henry Newman, we have certain information that he passed through two of the stages of Conversion, and there are indications that he entered on the third.

We know from his own account the agonized struggle he went through from 1843 to 1845. With him the simple question was: "Can I be saved in the English Church? Am I in safety were I to die to-night? Is it a mortal sin in me, not joining another communion?"¹

That struggle over, the second stage ensued, inseparable from all struggles, whether mental, spiritual, or physical. "From the time I became a Catholic . . . I have been in perfect peace and contentment; I never have had one doubt."²

With respect to the third stage there exist indications that he did enter upon that as well. In joining the Papal Church he anticipated that he was starting upon the great work of reconciling the English mind and modern thought

¹ *Apologia pro vita sua*, p. 231.

² *Ibid.*, p. 238.

to Catholicism ; but he met with nothing but rebuff from the Roman authorities. He had hoped to found a Popish College at Oxford in which he, as principal, would unquestionably have been a great power in attracting the students to his Church. It was forbidden him. He strove to establish a Romanist University in Ireland and failed. He sank into despondency, almost into despair. The dead hand of Ultramontaniam paralysed all his efforts. He wrote : " At present, things are in appearance as effete, though in a different way, thank God, as they were in the tenth century. We are sinking into a sort of Novatianism—the heresy which the early Popes so strenuously rejected. Instead of aiming at being a world-wide power, we are shrinking into ourselves, narrowing the lines of communion, trembling at freedom of thought, and using the language of dismay and despair at the prospect before us, instead of with the high spirit of the warrior, going out conquering and to conquer."¹

Newman was a strong man, with an independent mind. The Roman Church did not want strong men with independent minds, unless they could put them as the Philistines did Samson to grind in a mill. He was intellectually a Hercules, and the Roman Church, like Omphale, having enslaved him, put him in petticoats, placed a distaff in his hand, bade him not repine if she slapped him over the mouth with her sandals.

" I have no friend at Rome," wrote Newman, " I have laboured in England, to be misrepresented, back-bitten and scorned. I have laboured in Ireland, with a door shut in my face. I seem to have had many failures, and what I did well was misunderstood." " O, my God, I seem to have wasted these years that I have been a Catholic. What I wrote as a Protestant has had far greater power, force, meaning, success, than my Catholic works."

So long as Newman was in the English Church he was a power. In the Roman Church he was a cypher, a suspect. He initiated a movement in England that spread in ever-widening circles, extending far beyond our island to the Colonies, to the United States ; a movement that is by no

¹ Ward (W.), *Life of J. H. Newman*, 1912, II, p. 127.

means exhausted at the present day. Its ripples are felt in every parish, in every mission station, in every quarter of the globe. But no sooner had he passed into the Roman Communion than he ceased to influence anyone, the Church he had joined not at all.

The Curé d'Ars—We will take another instance of Conversion.

On 19 September, 1846, the eleven-year-old Maximin Giraud and the not yet fifteen-year-old Melanie Matthieu and small for her age, were tending the cows of two farmers on the elevated plateau of La Salette in the diocese of Grenoble and in the department of Isère, when they saw "a beautiful lady" in a blaze of light sitting on a stone slab, wearing a crown of roses on her head and a crucifix hung about her neck by a chain. She bade the children announce to the people how offended she was at their working on Sunday, and neglecting Divine Service. On their return home they told the story to the Curé, who believed it, but the Mayor was too sensible, and he pooh-poohed the whole tale. Bishop Philibert Bruillard appointed two commissions to investigate the affair, and they gave judgment that it would be a pity to interfere with the piety of the people, but they could not decide *pro* or *con* relative to the Apparition. Finally in September, 1851, the Bishop issued a pastoral in which he declared the genuineness of the miracle, and Pius IX granted indulgences to all who should visit the spot, and he further required that the Day of the Apparition should be kept holy throughout the diocese of Grenoble. However, a notable procès ensued, when it was proved that the farce had been got up by a Mlle de la Merlière, who had dressed for the occasion and had coached up the children. Moreover, the boy Maximin was taken to the saintly M. Vianney, Curé of Ars, who questioned him, and brought Maximin to a confession that he had not seen the B. Virgin. The Curé was convinced that the whole thing was a fraud, and for eight years he suffered cruelly in conscience. He *knew* that the boy was a liar, he *knew* that the fraud had been exposed in a Court of Justice, and yet—there was the Pastoral of the Bishop, and there was the approval of the vision by the Infallible

Pope. At length, after a terrible struggle with his conscience for many years, he bowed to authority, and found "Peace, perfect Peace" in acquiescence in what he knew to be a lie; and thenceforth ceased to have any more misgivings. In this case Conversion signified the Stultification of Intelligence, and Peace ensuing from acquiescence in a known lie.

What guarantee has the Wesleyan that when, after a struggle, he has found "Peace, perfect Peace," he has not been as fatally deluded as was the Curé d'Ars, when after eight years of conflict he succumbs, and believes an indubitable fraud?

In further illustration we give a very painful story of which we know the particulars.

At Todmorden, at the junction of Lancashire and Yorkshire, in 1868, was a young man named Miles Wetherill, who was paying his addresses to the parlour-maid at the Vicarage. Although he was a Sunday School teacher, neither Mr. Plow, the Vicar, nor his wife, approved of her becoming engaged to him, a man of violent temper, and whom they could not trust. The cook along with them, dissuaded her from the engagement. This was reported to Wetherill, and he resolved on revenge. He purchased a revolver, and determined to murder those who had opposed his wishes. He went in the evening of 2 March to the back door of the Vicarage and knocked. When the cook opened, he shot her, and when the Vicar issued from his study to see what had occasioned the shot, Wetherill fired at him, and wounded him so severely that he died on the 11th of the same month. Then he mounted to Mrs. Plow's bedroom, where she, who had lately been confined, lay with her babe, and discharged his pistol into the bed. She did not recover the shock, and died not long after.

Wetherill was tried and condemned to death. The clergyman who visited him in prison had known him previously, and did his utmost to bring Miles to a sense of his sin. He found that Wetherill was perfectly conscious of his sin, but entertained neither remorse nor repentance on account thereof. He was frank with his visitor. He professed to be at peace in his conscience and to entertain a lively conviction that he would go to Hell. This, however,

did not render him uneasy. He had resolved on revenge, and he had accomplished his resolve. That contented him, and he would die happy. He told how that he had stuck a scrap of paper—a sheet out of his prayer-book—against the bole of a tree in the wood, so as to practise at it and secure certainty of hitting that at which he aimed. “And,” said he, “at first my hand shook, I was all of a tremble, for I knew that if I fired, the Grace of God would desert me. I had a battle within between my will and God’s Grace, and I beat it. Damned I shall be, I know that well enough. After the first shot my hand was steady and I felt no further struggle. I am not repentant. I have no desire to repent. I am quite happy.”

We have given this instance to show how that the acquisition of “Peace, perfect Peace” is not solely due to Conversion in a Christian direction, but is a psychic result of the conclusion of an internal contest, as a happy sleep is the consequence of an exertion of the muscles in a physical contest, and that it is most precarious to build upon such a result as one conveying Assurance of Salvation.

Assurance unscriptural—Assurance is full of peril spiritually and morally. It is unscriptural. “Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall,” wrote S. Paul to the Corinthians. Our Blessed Lord warned against overweening self-confidence: “Behold, thou art made whole: sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee.” “Thou standest by faith,” wrote S. Paul to the Romans, “Be not high-minded, but fear, for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.” Why should he bid the Philippians “Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling,” if they could be sure that they were safe for eternal life? If any man were justified in claiming Assurance it would be S. Paul, miraculously converted, caught up into the fourth Heaven, receiving direct Inspiration; yet he did not dare to feel safe, he feared lest he who had preached to others might himself become a castaway. Although he knew Christ and the power of His Resurrection, and though he had shared in His sufferings, and had been made conformable unto His death; yet he strained in hope, not being acquiescent in Assurance—of

attaining to the resurrection of the dead. "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect : but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended : but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."¹

What a contrast between the self-diffidence of the Apostle and the self-confidence of those sermon-tasters, the elders, as they strut up the chapel to take their places in the *bema*, chins erect, chests expanded, in every curve of the body, in every line of the face, proclaiming their Assurance that they have read their "title clear to mansions in the skies."

No visible class-mark—A tree is known by its fruit ; and a great Spiritual upheaval and change must leave conspicuous results that all can recognize. The value of a conversion can only be estimated by the facts to which it leads, and these facts lasting for life. We know of a case of a young woman who has gone through seven of these Conversational spasms, and the result of none of them have been satisfactory.

"Well now," says Professor James ; "how is it with these fruits ? If we except the class of pre-eminent saints of whom the names illumine history, and consider only the usual run of 'saints,' the shop-keeping church-members and ordinary youthful or middle-aged recipients of instantaneous conversion, whether at revivals or in the spontaneous course of Methodist growth, you will probably agree that no splendour worthy of a wholly supernatural creature fulgurates from them, or sets them apart from the mortals who have never experienced that favour. Were it true that a suddenly converted man were of an entirely different kind from a natural man, partaking as he does directly of Christ's substance, there surely ought to be some exquisite class-mark, some distinctive radiance attaching even to the lowliest specimen of this genus which, so far as it went, would prove him more excellent than even the most highly

¹ Phil. iii, 10-14.

gifted among mere natural men. But notoriously there is no such radiance. Converted men as a class are indistinguishable from natural men; some natural men even excel some converted men in their fruits;¹ and no one ignorant of doctrinal theology could guess by mere everyday inspection of the 'accidents' of the two groups of persons before him, that their substance differed as much as divine differs from human substance. The believers in the non-natural character of sudden conversion have had practically to admit that there is no unmistakable class-mark distinctive of all true converts."²

If the Christian life be a race, each who runs striving for the mastery, none secure of the prize, what can we think other than that those of the runners who halt when their wind first gives out, sit down, cross legs and arms, and commiserate those foolish racers, who strain every nerve to reach the winning post—what can we think other than that they have totally misconstrued the conditions of the race?

Fact and Speculation—The Doctrine of Assurance is actually a speculation built upon a well-established fact. The fact is the consciousness man has of having heard the call of God to repentance and amendment of life, and of having responded to it. This is an indisputable certainty. Man has been called. He knows it as surely as that he has hands and feet. But out of this fact the Speculative Opinion has grown, and has been insisted upon as Gospel truth, whereas it is an Antichristian lie, that the having undergone this experience secures him who has felt it from fear for the future; indeed, from any exertion after betterment of life. So long as the man who has been converted lives a respectable life, pays for his pew in chapel, and subscribes to a Missionary Society, wears a good coat to his back and trousers not baggy at the knee, he is secure, a

¹ Too often the Converted are shifty in money matters, whereas the unconverted is known by experience to be strictly honest. It was said by a Scottish minister: "Dr. Channing is excluded from the highest form of religious life by the extraordinary rectitude of his character." In a word: the Converted believes himself to be no longer "under the law," with its insistence on strict honesty, truthfulness, purity, and the like. James (W.), *op. cit.*, p. 488. To the Elect "all things are lawful." Expediency is the sole deterrent.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 237-8.

Saint in this life in the midst of an untoward generation, and at death he will make a triumphal entry into Heaven to a flourish of angelic trumpets, and be wreathed with the flowers of Paradise more richly than was Bottom by Titania in the Wood of Errors beyond Athens.

V

WHITEFIELD AND CALVINISM

Come on and do your best

To fright me with your sprites : you're powerful at it.

Winter's Tale, II, I.

WHITEFIELD'S **Early Career**—George Whitefield, son of the taverner of the "Bell," at Gloucester, after a somewhat disorderly youth, was converted ; and so strongly did his sincerity appeal to Bishop Benson that the Bishop ordained him before reaching the canonical age. To be translated from a tapster, carrying tankards of ale, and responding, "Anon, anon, sir !" to a pulpit, was enough to turn a young man's head and puff him up with self-importance. Almost immediately Whitefield cast to the winds the vows of obedience he had taken to his Ordinary, and at the age of twenty-three, in 1727, he started as an itinerant preacher.

He had two main topics in his budget, and all his thousands of addresses turned on them—the Depravity of Man's nature, and the Predestinate purpose of God. On the former of these themes Whitefield and Wesley were in full accord. In this, as Tranio said to Lucentio :—

Both our inventions meet and jump in one.

What neither would admit was that man, made in the image of God, bore in him any trace of his divine filiation. But on the point of Predestination and Reprobation they parted company.

To an ordinary observer it does not appear to matter two straws whether a man arrives at Assurance that he is one of the Elect by a Calvinistic process, or that he is Justified and Sanctified by a Wesleyan Conversion. In both cases man is supposed to turn his back upon the past and to face futurity ; and in both cases he is not placed at

the starting-point of a Spiritual life, but is in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, planted at the goal.¹

Bishop Benson is said to have exclaimed when he heard that Whitefield's first sermon had driven fifteen persons mad that he hoped the affliction would be lasting. This was before he had discovered how heterodox was his teaching.

Extemporary Prayer—On Christmas Day, 1738, he began the use of extempore prayer. In January, 1739, he was ordained priest. Finding that the pulpits of the Bristol churches were refused to him, he preached in the open air to two hundred colliers at Kingswood, on 17 February. R. Graves, a writer of the period, in his *Spiritual Quixote*, says of Whitefield's preaching: "He usually made choice of a different text at each meeting, but whatever the subject was it always ended—like Cato's speeches in the Senate house, with *delenda est Carthago*—with Down with your good works! with a denunciation against Self-righteousness and a recommendation of Faith alone in its stead—as if virtue was inconsistent with belief in the Gospel; though Chillingworth observed, 'The doctrine of renouncing their own righteousness has been generally found most agreeable to those who have no righteousness of their own to renounce.' Mr. Whitefield said little about repentance, but laid all the stress upon faith alone; so that if a man was, or fancied, or even said that he was, possessed of true faith, he was immediately pronounced a convert, and whether he reformed his life or not became a saint upon easy terms."

His Preaching—His congregations in the open air swelled to thousands. At Moorfields and Kensington his audiences are said to have reached fifty thousand.

Sir James Stephen says of him: "Without intellectual discipline or sound learning he confounded his narrow range of elementary topics with the comprehensive schemes and science of Divinity. Leaping over the state of pupillage, he became at once a teacher and a dogmatist. The lessons which he never drew from books were never taught him by living men. He allowed himself no leisure for social inter-

¹ According to Wesley himself there might be relapse, and need for reconversion, but the advanced Methodists, such as Maxfield, did not admit this.

course with his superiors, or with his equals, but underwent the debilitating effects of conversing almost exclusively with those who sat as disciples at his feet. Their homage, and the impetuous tumult of his career, left him but superficially acquainted with himself. Unsuspicious of his own ignorance, and exposed to flattery far more intoxicating than the acclamations of the theatre, he laid the foundations of a new religious system, with less profound thought and a greater penury of religious research than had ever fallen to the lot of a reformer or heresiarch before."

Again: "Such his failure of self-respect that a tone of awkward adulation distinguishes nearly all his letters to the ladies of high degree who partook of and graced his triumph. But his capital offence against the code of manners was the absence of all pudicity, which shrinks from exposing to public gaze the deepest emotions of the heart. . . . Akin to this fault is his seeming unconsciousness of the oppressive majesty of the topics with which he was habitually occupied. The seraph in the prophetic vision was arrayed with wings, of which some were given to urge his flight, and others to cover his face. Vigorous as were the pinions with which Whitefield moved, he appears to have been unprovided with those beneath which his eyes should have shrunk from too familiar a contemplation of the ineffable glory." ¹

Tate Wilkinson and Garrick were his frequent hearers, and brought away with them the impression that "his oratory was not at its full height until he had repeated a discourse forty times."

Tate Wilkinson—Foote was wont to say of Whitefield, "like the cow, after giving a good pailful of milk, he was apt to kick it down again;" or, in other words, that good sense which, at one period of his discourse, would please his most attentive hearers, he would spoil by after-ravings or expressions in very bad taste; for he would speak of the most sacred things with levity and indecorous familiarity. His dialect was peculiar and betrayed his vulgar extraction; for Lord he said *Lurd*, and for God, *Gud*.

¹ Stephen (Sir J.), *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4th ed., 1860, p. 388.

That Whitefield did give stories in the pulpit is certain, and they were often telling and to the point. Here is one :

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the last age, was acquainted with Betterton the player. One day the Archbishop said to Betterton, ' Pray inform me, sir, what is the reason why you actors on the stage can affect your congregation with things imaginary as if they were real, while we of the Church speak of things real, which our congregations receive only as if they were imaginary ? ' ' Why, Your Grace,' answered Betterton, ' the reason is obvious enough. We actors on the stage speak of things imaginary as if they were real, whereas you in the pulpit speak of things real as if they were imaginary.' "

Ned Shuter—Another actor, beside Tate Wilkinson, who frequented Whitefield's Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road was Edward Shuter. These two men on Sunday morning at six o'clock would be at Whitefield's chapel, and then at ten o'clock proceed to Wesley's meeting-house in Long Acre. At eleven, again to the Tabernacle in Tottenham Court Road. They dined together in Moorfields along with some of the saints, then, at 3 p.m., they sat again under Wesley, and that preaching over they returned for the evening sermon to hear Whitefield. At 8 p.m. they supped and drank punch together till morning.

Shuter certainly verified the saying, "The greater the sinner, the greater the saint"—for no comedian of the time was a greater reprobate, and of more dissolute habits. He, however, believed that he had been converted and had made his "calling and election sure," and so indulged with little or no scruples. Indeed when half drunk it was hard for his friends to restrain him from going out into the fields to hold forth on Original sin, regeneration, and the impossibility of falling from Grace.

Whitefield's chapel was supported by the voluntary contributions of the followers of the preacher ; and Shuter was a liberal contributor to its fund.

On one occasion Shuter and Wilkinson quarrelled and would not speak to each other. But Whitefield, aware of this, preached at them, urging to forgiveness. This moved them to a reconciliation. Directly after the sermon they

adjourned to the Rose tavern and spent the night in drinking together. By 3 a.m., when they separated, they had become sworn, pious friends again, and remained so, drunk and sober, till Death put an end to their acquaintance.

His Histrionic Talent—Unquestionably Whitefield possessed the histrionic talent, which he showed by the manner in which he thoroughly identified himself with the part he was playing. George Story, one of the earliest Methodists, before his Conversion was in the habit of frequenting Whitefield's chapel on Sundays and the play-house during the week. "Nor could I," he wrote, "discern any difference between Mr. Whitefield's preaching and seeing a good tragedy."

Dr. Johnson would not allow that he was a great orator. "His popularity is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner. He would be followed by crowds were he to wear a nightcap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree."

His graphic power of description is shown by an anecdote of an old general officer who heard him describe a blind man stumbling along towards the edge of a cliff, prodding here and there with his stick, ever nearing the precipice, when his hearer exclaimed: "Good God! he is over the edge!"

Lackington says: "I went several times to the Tabernacle and heard Mr. George Whitefield, and of all the preachers that ever I attended never did I meet with one that had such a perfect command over the passions of his audience. In every sermon that I heard him preach he would sometimes make them ready to burst with laughter and the next moment drown them in tears; indeed it was scarce possible for the most guarded to escape the effect."¹

Whitefield and the Aristocracy—Whitefield, unlike Wesley, did not relish specially preaching to the ignorant and poor; he greatly preferred to be led about at the end of a chain and shown off by the Countess of Huntingdon, who had lords and ladies down to Donnington Hall to hear him declaim, and who beat the drum and played the fife through London Society to collect them to her chapel or drawing-room to witness his performances. In return he was fulsome in his adulation, and went so far as to have a

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 184.

special hymn sung in her honour at his Meetings, of which here is one verse :—

Uphold this Star in Thy right hand—
 Crown her endeavours with success ;
 Among the great ones may she stand,
 A witness to Thy righteousness ;
 Till many nobles join Thy train,
 And triumph in the Lamb that's slain.

It would not be easy to surpass the snobbery of the last two lines.

Horace Walpole, meeting Lady Townshend one day, said, relative to Whitefield : “ Pray, Madam, is it true that Whitefield has recanted ? ” Lady Townshend replied : “ Oh, dear, no ! He has only canted.”

Whitefield specially prided himself on his aristocratic converts, who came to hear him at the Tabernacle, Moorfields.

“ Were it as big again,” he wrote, “ I believe on Sunday mornings it would be filled. This day hath been spent with the Countess (Delitz), Lady Gertrude (Hotham), Colonel Gumley, etc. I gave them the Communion, and afterwards preached.” These communions took place in private houses of the nobility. Among those who frequented the saloons of Lady Huntingdon to hear him preach were the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Grafton, Lady Jane Scott, Lord and Lady Dacre, Mr. and Lady Anne Connolly, Lady Elizabeth Keppel, Lady Betty Waldegrave, Lady Coventry, Lord Weymouth, Lord Tavistock, Lady Charlotte Edwin, the Duchess of Hamilton, the Duchess of Richmond, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Lady Townshend, Lord de Trafford, Lord Northampton, Lady Hervey, Lady Pembroke, Lady Northumberland, Lady Rebecca Paulet, Lord Mount Edgecumbe, Lord Lyttleton, Lady Essex, etc.¹

If Whitefield complimented Lady Huntingdon, she returned the favour, for she wrote that “ his lips dropped like the honeycomb, and were a well of life.”

The Five Points—Before proceeding we must lay before the reader the Five Points established by the Synod of Dort,

¹ *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, 1840, I, p. 288.

which put the finishing touch to Calvin's system, and which were unanimously accepted by the Puritans of the Stuart period, were received as inspired truths by the Westminster Assembly, and which formed the basis of its Catechisms. These also constituted the groundwork of Whitefield's teaching. We have prefixed to our account of Wesley a summary of his creed, and we must do the same before handling Whitefield himself any further. Moreover, as the same teaching, somewhat modified, was preached by the Evangelical Fathers in the Church, it deserves statement here.

We are not disposed to dispute that they had considerable justification for their teaching. They had the authority of S. Augustine and the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages. But where the error lay was in elevating into a doctrine necessary to Salvation, what was no other than a theologic speculation, a mere conjecture.

Art. I. God, by an absolute decree, has elected to Salvation a very small number of men, without any regard to their faith and obedience whatsoever, and has secluded from saving Grace all the rest of mankind ; and has appointed them, by the same decree, to eternal Damnation, without any regard to their infidelity or impenitency.

Art. II. That Christ Jesus hath not suffered for any other but the Elect only, having neither had any intent nor commandment of the Father to make Satisfaction for the sins of the whole World.

Art. III. That, by Adam's Fall his posterity lost their Free Will, being put to an unavoidable necessity to do, or not to do, whatsoever they do, or do not, whether it be good or evil ; being thereunto predestinated by the eternal and effectual secret decree of God.

Art. IV. That God, to save the Elect from the corrupt mass, doth beget Faith in them by a power equal to that whereby He created the World, and raised up the dead ; insomuch that such unto whom He gives grace cannot reject it, and the rest, being reprobate, cannot accept it.

Art. V. That such as have once received that grace of Faith can never fall from it finally, notwithstanding the most enormous sins they have committed.

Unchristian—That this doctrine is *not* that of the Church, is practically anti-Christian, is contrary to Natural Religion, and is immoral in its tendency, is our contention. Augustine was obliged to admit that Predestination repugned the implanted convictions of man as to God's justice; and Calvin sorrowfully confessed that it encouraged overconfidence and immorality, as we shall see presently.

How could the Christian, obsessed with the doctrine of Dort, when broken and contrite-hearted, bowed under shame and sense of alienation from God, say, "I will arise and go to my Father and say, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son," when, for ought he knew to the contrary, he had been ordained from all eternity to waste his substance in riotous living, and to fill his belly with the husks that the swine did eat? How could the tearful penitent receive any consolation from the Greek hymn:—

If I ask Him to receive me
Will He say me nay?
Not till earth, and not till heaven
Pass away!

Who could pray in childlike trust to "Our Father which art in heaven" with confidence of acceptance? Who worship with a heart brimming over with love when he could not be sure that he was not predestined to eternal death before ever the light sprang out of darkness, ten thousand years before he was born? How be sure that he would not be spurned by the foot of Christ into the pit where preys the undying worm? How could he ask, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those that have trespassed against us," when he knows that he was foreordained, however much charity he might feel and whatever promptness of forgiveness he might exhibit, to be repelled from the throne of Grace? Grace!—no grace there, only inexorable Injustice reigning above the steely heavens on the red-hot iron throne.

Demoralizing—That this doctrine led to demoralization Calvin was obliged to admit. He plaintively declared that it *ought not* to do so, but could not deny that *it did so*. "What man can hear that life and death are fixed by an eternal and immutable decree of God, without immediately concluding that it is of no consequence how he acts, since no work of his can either hinder or further the predestination of God? Thus all will rush on, and, like desperate men, plunge headlong wherever Lust inclines. And it is true that this is not altogether a fiction, for there are multitudes of a swinish nature who defile the doctrine of Predestination by their profane blasphemies, and employ it as a cloak to evade all admonition and censure: 'God knows what He has determined to do with regard to us: if He has decreed our Salvation He will bring us to it in His own time; if He has doomed us to death, it is in vain for us to fight against it.' " ¹

Augustine allowed that the doctrine of predestination was a perplexing mystery, and that, as he understood it, it disagreed with man's natural, implanted belief in God's Justice; an admission that should have amply sufficed for its condemnation.

S. Augustine—Augustine is generally regarded, and not without justice, as the theological ancestor of Calvin, whose doctrine was finally capped and clenched at Dort.

Augustine of Hippo was one with Origen and Clement and Cyril of Alexandria, in constituting a party endeavouring to introduce into and fuse together Pagan philosophy with simple Christian belief. Philo, from a Jewish standpoint, had striven to achieve the same end by amalgamating the Mosaic law with Platonism, and the result was a mass of absurdity. And S. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, had placed the Pagan dogma of immutable Predestination and the Hebrew doctrine of Conditional Predestination, side by side, without making any attempt to fuse together two contradictory theories.

The Philosophers—The question of Inevitable Fate had exercised the minds of the Greek philosophers and had been the theme of the Dramatists. It was a fascinating topic

¹ *Institutes*, Bk. III, c. 23, § 12.

on which to argue and dispute, because it was one on which no one knew anything, and arguments were but guesses. The plain, simple Christian doctrine sufficed for plain, simple Christian folk, but for men of active, questioning minds something must be furnished out of Christianity to amuse and occupy restless and irreverent brains. This these Fathers of the African Church attempted to supply. Augustine would have done better to throw to them for disputation the surface, aspect, and character of that face of the moon which is persistently turned from our sight, as though purposely withdrawn from being speculated upon. Had he done that and rested there, he would not have trenched upon those things which have not been revealed—a procedure so strongly reprobated by the Apostle.

“The language by which the Christian Church has always expressed the truths of Man’s Free Will and Divine Grace has been (simply enough), that the one could do no good thing without the aid of the other, *nihil bonum sine gratia*. This formula satisfied the simplicity of the Primitive Church, as it has satisfied the uncontroversial faith of all ages, and no desire was felt for further expression and a more exact truth.”¹

But when Christian verities were thrown into the cauldron along with Pagan philosophy, an ebullition ensued, and the doctrine of Grace became a bone of contention, and the disputants laid hold of casual expressions let drop by S. Paul to serve their purpose. The Apostle knew nothing of the philosophizing of the Faith that would not take place till about three hundred and fifty years after his death.

First Preachers declare Facts—At the first outset the teachers of the Church did no more than testify to a series of facts. They had been witnesses to the Death, the Resurrection, and to the Ascension. They had heard the moral teaching of Christ, and had laid to heart His promises. No attempt was made to elaborate these into a theologic system. Only S. John had laid down the theologic fact of the Divinity of Christ, the Logos; and S. Paul, while insisting on Christ being God incarnate as his special Gospel,

¹ Mozley (J. B.), *Augustinian Predestination*, 1855, p. 51.

threw out certain speculative ideas when involved in controversy which were loans from the Colonnades at Tarsus.

Philosophic Minds desire to Rationalize the Faith—But when from all sides and out of every class men flowed into the Church, and Believers were not confined to slaves, pious women, and petty traders, but comprised as well men of searching intellects from the forum and the schools, then these restless minds demanded something more acceptable than belief in a series of facts. They wanted a theory of their new faith. They had brought with them their philosophic ideas in which they had been bred, and their disputative spirit. They took the disjointed articles of the Creed and attempted to fit them together into a system, much as a child takes the shapeless members of a puzzle-picture and labours to piece them together into a congruous whole. And this they did for two reasons : In the first place they sought for a rational basis for their own mental satisfaction, and in the next place they desired to represent Christianity to their heathen friends of the porch and the Academy, as a rival Philosophy, and that based not on Conjecture but on Revelation. But in so doing, to a large extent, they revolutionized Christianity, converting it from a religion of Faith in simple truths, into a rational philosophy.

Still, to the poor and feeble, the ignorant and suffering, it was a religion of Faith, of trust, of repose in God. But to the wise and learned it was a ring, staked round for logicians to wrangle in.

Danger of so Doing—What a risk it was, to attempt to tangle up elementary truths with philosophy to the obscurity rather than the elucidation of the factors of the faith. The danger of rationalizing and of deducing theoretic conclusions from the facts is, and has been, the imposition of the conclusions arrived at by theologians, as essential verities on which Salvation depends, not as harmless speculations to be accepted as possible, or to be tossed aside as valueless.

This has been the case repeatedly : as in the case of Predestination and Indefectibility of Grace ; of Justification by Faith alone ; of Vicarious Sacrifice ; of the Immaculate Conception ; of Papal Infallibility : some blown out of a

few elementary Truths, some out of nothing at all, till in shape, character, tendency, they bear no resemblance whatever to those Verities, if any, out of which the windy lungs of theologians have puffed, strained and expanded them.

Half a century ago, the writer was curate in a Yorkshire town, where were shoddy mills, in which rags of all descriptions, the tattered breeches of the pauper, the discarded petticoats of the female tramp, were torn to shreds and pulverized. And when cloth was woven, the "Devil's dust" of this discarded stuff was dribbled in, so that what was turned out was one part sound and three parts shoddy. An American Government order came for a thousand blankets. When delivered at New York they had to be shovelled and wheel-barrowed away as worthless dust, leaving but an inconsiderable and practically useless residuum of fibre. It was so with Christianity when philosophized. What an incalculable amount of shoddy has been associated with it! and with what deplorable results! True Christianity has been rejected by thousands unable to distinguish the fibre from the admixture. And of all dribblers of "Devil's Dust" into the web and woof of Christianity none produced more lasting mischief than the Bishop of Hippo.

As Our Lord said, What is hid from the wise and prudent is revealed unto babes. There is not a child in our Sunday Schools but knows more of practical Christianity than any of those theological shoddy manufacturers, Augustine, Calvin, Luther, the divines of Dort, of the Westminster Confession, and Pius IV. "Where is the wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?" Once again Christ sets a little child in the midst of us. Let him recite his Creed, his Duty to God and to his Neighbour, lift his little hands and voice in "Our Father which art in heaven," and before such a simple proclamation of the truth, "hath not God made foolish the wisdom of the world," and made doubtful that of theologians as well?

Value of Theology—Nevertheless there is room, and there is work in the School of Christ, for men of questioning minds, of analysing and arranging abilities. Imagination, enthu-

siasm, piety, may run riot, and rush into extravagancies, unless there be some controlling and corrective force to check their vagaries. Without such, the Church would not be for all, but solely for the simple and ignorant. Christianity furnishes food for the studious and for the ignorant as well.

Augustine's first Theory of Christianity—S. Augustine, who had been influenced by the Platonic spirit, hitherto viewed with considerable favour by the Fathers of the Church, worked out a scheme of Christianity on Platonic lines. According to him, God was the *Summum Bonum*, the Supreme Good, to Whom or to Which, all men wisely or ignorantly strain; some with rational, others with mis-directed efforts. God summons all reasonable beings to aim at Felicity, which is to be attained by the practice of Virtue; and to this end He has endowed them with Intelligence and with Free-will; for there can exist no Virtue without voluntary effort, and without Knowledge to distinguish between Good and Evil. Free-will is accorded to the agent, who employs it either in the pursuit of what is truly Good, or of some false light. And, according to his employment of it, approaches or withdraws from God, and renders himself more or less worthy or unworthy of Felicity.

In this, Augustine followed the simple traditional doctrine of the Church, a doctrine comprehensible by the most untaught mind and one agreeable to the natural instincts of humanity.

Augustine's change of Opinion—But in his later years he revised his earlier philosophy of Christianity, though by so doing he involved himself in contradictions, and was not infrequently driven to equivocations.

Before dealing with this new scheme, it is necessary for us to consider what had been the original, and was still, largely, the belief of mankind in the East and the West, relative to the Government of the World, of Nations, and of Men individually, as well as of groups of men in families and in towns.

Primitive Belief in Providence—The original conception of Providence was of a Deity governing all things.

The Problem of Predestination—The Problem of Predestination that has driven some to the depths of despair,

and has puffed up others into Pharisaic elation, is, after all, one that can be solved by the exercise of a little Common Sense. But Common Sense is not a solvent employed by philosophers and, least of all, by theologians.

We must ask to be allowed to state the problem before proceeding with our story.

Rigid Predestination—Predestination is in theory the doctrine that God has fore-ordained every thing created, mice and men, to carry out His Will, and that no creature of His can oppose, can deviate in any way from, His Will and the course He has marked out to be pursued. According to rigid Predestinarian doctrine, the Divine Will determines, before any individual is called into being, what he is to be, what his career will be, what will be the length of his days, what his ultimate destiny. And from this determination it is not possible for man to swerve by a hair's breadth. He is a mere pawn in the hand of the Almighty, to be put on the board where He wills, to be moved where He wills, to be sacrificed according to His good pleasure. But even the most uncompromising Calvinist of the present day must allow a certain margin for the exercise of the Will, sanction a narrow tract of No Man's Land. He will hesitate to assert that before Creation, when the morning stars sang together, and the Sons of God shouted for joy, it was predetermined whether on 1 April, 1920, John Jones, the small-clothes dealer, Leadenhall Street, an elect vessel, by the way, should get out of bed left or right leg foremost ; whether it was prearranged in the Courts of Heaven that the Reverend Jeremiah Binks should introduce into his church the *Mitre* in lieu of *Mercer's Hymnal*.

But, if so, where is the line of demarcation to be drawn between Free Will and Divine Predestination ? Who is to chalk that line ? How is anyone to know where it is drawn if all be blindfolded by predestinate decree ?

Conditioned Predestination—There is, however, another doctrine of Predestination. It was that held by the Hebrews, and was accepted by the Early Christian Church. According to this, it was assumed that God laid down the general lines of a man's life, fixed where he should be born, in what social status, with what inherent faculties. *But* it has been

left to his Free Will to profit by all that has been placed at his disposal, or to remain inert, allow his abilities to rest undeveloped, and to let slide the chances put in his way.

Our readers have but to look into their own lives to see that they have been given abilities, have been offered chances, and have either wasted their talents, and thrown away their opportunities, or have turned both to good account.

Surely this view of Predestination is one that commends itself to Common Sense, because it is the fruit of Common Experience.

And this was the view of Predestination held by the ancient Hebrews. The Prophets, the Psalmists had recognized Destiny as personified in Jehovah, everywhere present, determinative up to a point.

The Hebrew View—But the Hebrew Jehovah was wholly different from the gloomy, unalterable Tyche that drove the House of Atreus to overwhelming ruin. This is finely shown in the story of Jonah. The prophet attempted to fly from the presence of God, and from the performance of the duty imposed upon him. He was brought back to learn that the Eternal One is pitiful as well as just. Whereas Jehovah had pronounced a decree of destruction against Nineveh, yet He reversed that decree when He saw that the Ninevites repented in sackcloth and ashes. The Hebrew Scriptures contain many passages in which God is said to have repented Him of the evil He had decreed, and He did it not. Moreover, the Psalms are so couched as to be an appeal to God's forbearance and mercy, for pardon and non-execution of severe judgment. There were but two conceptions of Predestination possible, one irreversible, the other conditional. The first was the Heathen, the latter the Jewish idea.

The Heathen Idea of Predestination—The heathen conception of Destiny was that Predestination ruled remorselessly over every individual, and over all peoples. It was a roaring typhoon sweeping men to destruction, as straws, chaff, are carried forward by the tempest-blast, powerless to resist, tossing, whirling, impotent against the force that drives them whither it listeth.

It was this irresistible Fate that the Greeks expressed by

the word *τύχη*, a force above all the Gods of Olympus. No prayers, no tears, no repentance, no subtlety of man could placate, could alter what was predestined. The thought underlies many a tale : as that of Meleager, whose life depended on a fire-brand remaining unconsumed ; but, however successful he might be in all his undertakings ; although, to safeguard her son's life, Althea treasured up the brand, yet she herself, unable to escape Destiny, was fated to commit it to the flames, and with it to extinguish the life-spark in Meleager. We have the same conception of unavoidable Fate in the story of Achilles, plunged by Thetis in the Styx, and thereby rendered invulnerable, save in the heel, by which she had held him ; and this was disregarded, for a hero never turns his back on the foe. Yet it was in the heel that the arrow of Paris reached and slew him. Herodotus abounds with such stories.

Personification of Destiny—At first the idea of Destiny was vague and inscrutable. It was the Will of God, but a God impersonal, incomprehensible. Then it became somewhat detached, and was spoken of as *τύχη*, but still impersonal, and but casually mentioned by name by the most ancient poets. Pausanias speaks of the first mention of her name in the Homeric hymn to Demeter.¹

Multiplication of Tyches—But whether by this name or by another, the conception of an overruling Will was never absent, though varying in the manner in which it was entitled. As regarded man, his whole career was determined by the *Parcæ*, daughters of Night and Erebus, or the Abyss. Clotho presided over man's birth, and spun his general career, Lachesis spun out all the details of his life, and Atropos cut the thread of his existence with a pair of shears ; and all the while they droned out the tragic ballad of what he was and what would be. Even the gods were subject to them. Homer tells us that Zeus, the king of the gods, would have saved the life of his son Sarpedon, but was unable, because the Fates had determined otherwise. All the several *Morai*, the Furies, and Nemesis, were but various personifications of the Predetermining Divine Will.

¹ " Ignorant and unwise men, who foresee neither the Destiny of coming good or evil." In the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, Troxartes says : " Evil Fate is the appointed Destiny of all."

Every town, every village, every household, every person had a governing fate, and although that fate was thus variously called it was ever Destiny. Tyche was greatly venerated at Smyrna, where was a statue of her bearing up the globe on her head. She was usually represented with the horn of plenty in one hand and a rudder in the other, as the one who supplied the good things of life, but also as the one who directed its course.

To resist Destiny was given to neither men nor gods. The Romans had a proverb that even Salvation (*Salus*) was impotent against it. Man was in its grip, like the poor bird of which Hesiod tells. A hawk had carried off the various-voiced Nightingale in its cruel claws, and when Philomel wailed, the hawk scornfully addressed her: "Wretch, wherefore cryest thou? One stronger than thyself holds thee fast. Thou must go whither I will. Thou shalt serve as my supper, and it so pleases me; or, and I choose, I can let thee go. Senseless is he who attempts to contend against superior strength."

Æschylus and Sophocles—The first, however, among the Greeks to give a full expression to this world-wide conviction and develop it into inexorable law were Æschylus and Sophocles, in those gloomy, haunting tragedies relative to the fate brooding over the House of Atreus and the family of Œdipus. The House of Agamemnon was doomed from the moment of the first crime of Hippodamia. Destiny, not made to waver at the tearful repentance of Polynices, pursued the family of Œdipus till it swept away all the males, and his daughter, Antigone, slew herself on her brother's grave, rather than be buried alive.¹

"Destiny," says Clytæmnestra in the *Choephori*, "impelled (me) to these things"—the murder of her husband. "And Destiny," replies Orestes, "provides the doom that is to fall on thee"—the murder of the mother by the hand of her son. The same conception of unavoidable Destiny is expressed in *The Seven against Thebes*. "Alas! Thou

¹ Zeno, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, made Destiny, or Predestination, the basis of his teaching. He forbade his disciples to pray that disasters might be averted, for that they must occur was inevitable, but to pray that they might meet them with equanimity. Zeno d. circa 264 B.C.

Destiny, awarder of bitterness, wretched, dark Erynnyes ! Verily thou art great in thy might ! ” It was Destiny that compelled the brothers Eteocles and Polynices to kill each other. Herodotus tells us that this same Predestination forced Cambyses to slay his only brother. “ In truth,” said he, “ it belongs not to human nature to avert what is destined to happen.” The chorus in the *Heraclidæ* of Euripides, says : “ No man is happy or miserable save through the Gods, and the same family does not always walk in good fortune, but different fates pursue it in different ways. It is wont to throw down one from a lofty station into insignificance, and to make a wanderer opulent. It is impossible to avoid what is fated, none can repel it by wisdom.” Pallas Athenæ says to King Thoas in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, “ Fate controls both thee and the Gods themselves.”

In the *Prometheus Bound*, the most sublime of tragedies, we have Human Nature, in its highest expression, represented as crucified to the cliff, held there powerless by brazen fetters, because he, Prometheus, had traversed the purposes of Zeus. The vulture is sent to tear at his liver, with beak and claws to rend his vitals—all on account of his having incurred the wrath of the King of the Gods. “ Hast thou seen,” asks the Chorus, “ the powerless feebleness, no better than a dream, in which the blind race of men is entangled ? Never, at any time, shall the schemes of mortals elude the orderly disposition of Zeus.”

So also we are shown in the *Trachiniæ* of Sophocles Destiny bringing Heracles to an agonizing death, brought about unwillingly by his wife Deianira. “ Behold, ye virgins, how the heavenly decree of oracular predestination has in the fulness of the months been accomplished.”

Mohammedan Predestination—The conception of Predestination, in other words, the execution of the Will of God, has become the ruling doctrine of Mohammedanism. Kismet cannot be avoided. This was the foundation of Arab belief before ever that Mohammed appeared as a prophet. He confirmed, as a prophet, what had been for ages the conviction of his people, just as Æschylus and Sophocles in their tragedies did the same for the Greeks. The idea of

Predestination comes out in many a tale. In the *Arabian Nights*, Alla-ed-deen says : " Where is a place of refuge from Destiny ? Caution availeth naught against Fate ; and from that which is written there is no escape." This also is illustrated by the story of Prince Agib, the Third Calender. In fact, belief in Destiny that cannot be escaped from, pervades the East.¹ It was as firmly believed by the Scandinavian and Teutonic nations.²

Teutonic and Scandinavian Predestination—The idea dominates the whole of the great German epic of the *Nibelungen Lied* and *Nibelungen Noth*, as well as the corresponding sagas of Scandinavia. It is the theme at the present day alike of the student leaning out of his attic window, looking at the evening star, and of the *Sennerin* on the Alm as she milks the cows ; and at the same time drops a tear :

Es ist bestimmt in Gottes Rath,
Dass man vom Liebsten, was man hat, muss scheiden.
Wiewohl doch Nichts im Lauf der Welt
Dem Herzen, ach ! so sauer fällt, als scheiden.

It prevailed over the Finn mind, as shown by the *Kalewala*. It broods to this day over the Russian, and paralyses his initiative.

Mediators—The thought, however, of an overpowering Destiny, not to be imprecated, not to be escaped from, was too terrible to be endured without some modification ; and, with the inconsistency natural to man, the heathens piled up a phantom world of gods and demigods to act as mediators, standing between them and Destiny, to whom

¹ Omar Khayyám wrote :

The moving Finger writes, and having writ
Moves on : nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it.

Among the Arabs there rose a philosophic school, that of the Motazilites, who strove to break through the shackles of the Koran and Predestination. They were defeated by the Ahasites, whose leader, El-Acasi, flourished towards the end of the ninth century. He was the Augustine of Mohammedanism. He proclaimed the verbal inspiration of the Koran, defined the Attributes of God, and firmly established the dogma of Unreversible Predestination.

² Maurer (K), *Bekehrung d. Norwegischen Stammes*, 1866, II, pp. 102 et seq.

they could appeal to divert or to blunt the arrows of Tyche and of Nemesis.

They Fall into Disrepute—But the stories told of the gods by the poets were too gross and too absurd to be credited, except by the most ignorant and unintelligent, and though the existence of the gods was allowed, it was allowed as possible only, and their myths were allegorized or rejected. This, however, was but the first stage in a downward course that ended in their repudiation. Respect for them must have wholly gone, when such an outrageous play as the *Amphytrion* could have been put on the stage. And that was by Plautus, who died 184 B.C. Yet this was so popular that it was repeated several times with great applause. As Mercury in the prologue pretends it was produced at the special desire of Jupiter ; and yet in it the King of the Gods is represented as an insolent impostor, an adulterer, and a gross sensualist.¹

Lucian, born A.D. 120, found a special delight in covering the gods in general, but the King of the Gods particularly, with ridicule. In his *Dialogues of the Gods* he brought forward the most scandalous and preposterous tales told of the deities, retold them with great wit and with no scruples. He showed the Gods to be absolutely powerless to help their votaries. The Cynic thus addresses Zeus : “ Do you mean to say that everything occurs as is ordered by the Fates ? ” Zeus : “ It is so.” Cynic : “ And it is impossible for you to reverse in any particular what has been predestined ? ” Zeus : “ Certainly we possess no such power.” Lucian scoffs at Zeus for neither being able to protect two of the gold locks of his image from being stolen, nor for being able to discover and punish the thieves.

The gods in their distress, having ascertained that mortal men had discovered their impotence, call a council to decide what is to be done. A dispute is going on at the time between two philosophers. Damis, the Epicurean, mocks at

¹ In *Pseudolus* Plautus introduces this dialogue :

Ballio : Away with you to the gallows (in malam crucem).

Pseud : And thither shall go pimping Jupiter (as well).

See Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, II, 13 ; IV, 26. How contemptuous cultured heathens were of their gods is shown by Augustine in his Epistle xvii, to Maximus. Euripides had done his best to turn them into a scoff among the Greeks.

the gods and denies their very existence. His views are greatly applauded. His opponent gets on very lamely in his defence of Olympus. Who is to help him? What arguments can be adduced to prove the existence and power of the gods? Heracles proposes, as the best way to silence Damis, that he should knock out his brains with his club; but—alas! Destiny stands in the way. He can't do it, as Predestination has determined that the Atheist shall win the day. In fact, as Momus says in *The Gathering of the Gods*: "Everyone now despises us, and with justice."

The only deities who received any general, and that a private, cult, were the Lares, terra-cotta dolls kept in a niche by the kitchen fire, begrimed with soot and treated as mere mascots. If Destiny were denied, then there remained but Chance.¹

Result—What then was the result of the complete breakdown of the belief of the Classic world, Greek and Latin, relative to the Intermediaries? There was but one result. The floor had been swept clean, Jupiter with his thunderbolts, Neptune with his trident, Apollo with his bow, Hercules with his club, Bacchus with his thyrsus, all had been tossed pell-mell out of doors, and confronting each other stood the Advocates of Destiny and the Advocates of Blind Chance. And it was Damis, propounding the doctrine of Happy-go-lucky in the affairs of Men, that carried the applause of the unthinking and the sensualists, that is, of the young with whom was the Future.²

This was the situation when the Gospel was preached. This was the theme discussed in every school, and at every gathering of thoughtful men, perhaps also in every tavern where hot wine was provided.

Contradictory Doctrines of Predestination—An irrevocable and a conditioned Predestination are concepts

¹ This was the teaching of Epicurus against that of Zeno, who based his system of the World on Predestination. Augustine had to choose between the doctrine of the Stoics and that of the Epicureans. He chose the former.

² Sunt, in Fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant
Et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri,
Natura volvente vices et lucis et anni;
Atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.

Juv., *Sat.*, XIII, 86-9.

mutually exclusive. It is contrary to common sense to suppose that the Apostle Paul should have wittingly maintained both simultaneously ; it is simply incredible that he should have consciously accepted the Pagan doctrine of irrevocable Tyche, and have cast overboard all the teaching he had received from the Rabbis, confirmed as that was by what he had been taught to hold as the Oracles of God. What he sought to do was to prove his point from the Pagan as well as from the Hebrew dogma.

Gamaliel's lessons had struck much deeper than the arguments of the Philosophers and the impressions produced by the Tarsian stage in favour of Destiny.

Early Christian Theology—From the Apostles' time down to that of Augustine, the speculations of active Christian minds had been engaged with *Theology*, properly so called, or the doctrine of God, touching His nature and personal attributes, including Christology, which treated of Christ's divine and human Natures. This was objective Divinity. But when Pelagius appeared at the beginning of the fifth century a fresh class of subjects attracted attention. These were such as related to man and his destiny. Pelagius seemed to Augustine to minimize the effects of the Fall, as he imagined them, and to magnify the independence of fallen man.

Pelagius and Augustine—Pelagius positively denied that he had ever expressed himself as regarding man as capable of pleasing God unassisted by Grace, wherewith he had been charged before a synod of fourteen bishops at Diospolis, in A.D. 415. He was acquitted by them, as also by Pope Zosimus.¹ This exasperated Augustine, and he attacked

¹ Later, when Augustine had obtained from the Emperor edicts condemnatory of Pelagius and Cœlestius, Zosimus deemed it expedient to change his tone and to follow suit. Julian of Eclana complained bitterly of Augustine invoking the Secular Arm to persecute and expel those whom he could not convince by arguments. That Absolute Predestination was a popular belief he did not deny. Of course it is popular wrote Annianus of Celeda who had been driven from his church as a Pelagian, because it is a Pagan doctrine, and Pagan ideas were still afloat. He contended that he resisted Augustine's doctrine for the cause of morality, imperilled by the teaching of the Bishop of Hippo ; and he said that the distinction between Christianity and Paganism consisted in this that the former did not teach that sin was what man was impelled to by Necessity and Fate, whereas the contrary was the doctrine of Paganism and of Augustine.

Pelagius more vigorously than ever, and in so doing laid down assertions relative to Predestination and Indefectibility of Grace that have been cherished by a certain school in the Church ever since, but which are demonstrably Pagan imports.

In his *Confessions* Augustine has shown us through what sharp convulsions and bitter conflicts he had passed, till he entered into repose of soul. Such a victory he considered as miraculous, and he thought he could not sufficiently exalt the power of God, than by reducing man's will to impotence.

Cause of Change of View—There existed two causes for the re-shaping of his theology by Augustine.

Barbarian Invasions—(1) Augustine and all Christendom were staggered at the disasters that had overtaken the Empire and the sack of Rome by Attila. Barbarism was drowning culture, Ignorance displacing Learning, a new and uncouth Heathenism blotting out Christianity; Force domineering over Law; and Order lost in a welter of Anarchy. And this taking place at the very time when the Church, victorious over Classic Paganism, was consolidating her position, and in a condition to make full use of her triumph.

After long conflicts, after cruel persecutions, wherein the blood of the martyrs had been shed like water;—when peace and prosperity opened before her, one stroke after another fell on the Christianized Empire, beating down confidence, exposing the Church to the scoff of the Pagan, as the cause of all this disaster. Augustine did not look upon the Northern hordes in any other light than as legions of Furies sent against the Christian world to destroy all that had been achieved. That from among them Christianity was to rise in a form more sane, more sincere, than existed in the effete Roman world, was not given him to conceive as possible.

Augustine Seeks to Justify God's Dealings—How was Augustine to explain this mighty cataclysm? How meet the charge of the Pagans that the ruin of the Empire was the result of the defection of the Empire from the ancient Gods? How reconcile it with the law of God's dealings with man? How with His promises? How, if God be love, harmonize

this doctrine with the horrible sufferings brought upon the civilized world—on a Christian world ?

Augustine thought he must reconstruct his theologic scheme from the bottom to the top, so as to justify God's dealings with the world at that time. This he attempted to do by answering objectors that the wrath of God was dealing thus with the world, because the world was wicked. Adam had sinned, therefore all mankind had fallen under condemnation. The curse of God weighed on them.¹

S. Paul had adopted the lately ventilated theory of the Rabbis that all the sin that existed in the world was due to the descent of men generally from Adam.² Augustine followed the same line and improved on it. Not only had all men inherited evil propensities from Adam, but had also incurred a sentence of condemnation delivered against the whole human race, as participating in the sin of the ancestor of mankind. Original sin entailed universal Condemnation.

It was the old story of Prometheus bound. Mankind, like Prometheus, having transgressed, incurred the wrath of God, who chained him to impotence, and sent His emissaries to torture him. His emissaries at the time were the Barbarians, like the vulture ripping at his vitals.

De Civitate Dei—(I) The *De Civitate Dei* was begun by Augustine in A.D. 413 and it took him thirteen years to complete it. The theme is that in the world are two cities, that of God comprising the Faithful, to whom are allotted the joys of heaven, and the hostile City of the World, doomed with all its inhabitants to destruction and to everlasting fires. The whole work is divided into twenty-two books ; only the last twelve are on the verity of the Christian Religion, and these are divided into three parts ; the first four books describe the origin of the rival cities, four are on their progress in this life, and four on their several destinations. With relish he describes the tortures of the damned, and the eternity of their sufferings.³ It is only through Baptism into the City of God, and continuance therein in

¹ *De Civ. Dei*, XXI, 12.

² No trace of this is to be found in the Old Testament or in the Gospels.

³ He says that as Salamanders live in fire, and as, in certain boiling springs worms are found to exist, so God may ordain that the bodies of the damned should last, unconsumed in Hell-fire throughout eternity. *De Civ. Dei*, XXI, 2.

faith and piety, that Heaven can be won, and that is the sole method of escape from the condemnation passed on all the descendants of Adam, because he had eaten a fruit when forbidden so to do. Augustine's was a narrow and cruel view, that every heathen man who lived a good life would be damned to outer darkness and everlasting flames, and that every unbaptized babe must perish eternally.

Augustine and Predestination—(2) There was another problem Augustine sought to solve. The Freedom of the Will, to what extent was it free ?

It is probable that the conflict in the Pagan world of thought between the advocates of an all-controlling, all-directing, irresistible Destiny and those of a drunken Chance reeling down to Chaos—a dissolution of all Morality, tending to a dissolution of Society, and to a prospect of universal material wreckage, may have engaged the interest, and secured the advocacy of the Christians.

Augustine may well have conceived that, in his championship of Providential Government, he was laying down a formula that expressed the belief of the bulk of humanity, at all events of sober and meditative humanity. But that he should have failed to grasp the conception of a Conditioned Predestination that was taught by the Hebrew Scriptures, as the real solution of a world-wide problem, shows how much more his mind was influenced by Pagan philosophy, and kindled by questions then in agitation, than by the Sacred Scriptures, at least in this one particular. He could see but two alternatives, between which to make his choice : either a Fatalism that was unavoidable, or Chance leaving Mankind to scramble on as best it could.

Quite unconsciously, Augustine elected the Pagan idea of Tyche, and accommodated it to Christianity, or rather accommodated Christianity to the popular Pagan belief. He could not help sharing in a conviction that was general among all non-Christian religiously minded men ; it was in the air he breathed ; it rang in his ears in the market, in the Forum, in the schools.

Augustine himself informs us (*De gratia Christi* 19) what the Pelagian system was which he took on him to subvert. Pelagius taught that moral freedom involves a freedom of

choice, the faculty of deciding at each moment between good and evil ; of choosing one of the two for its determination. This is the fruitful root which, according to the bent of the will, produces in all its glory the flower of virtue, or else the bramble of vice.

Certainly Experience was on the side of Pelagius.

Denial of Free Will—But, the idea entertained, that every act of man, every turn in his life, his every prospect, is predetermined, his whole course mapped out for him, without the possibility of his stepping aside, inevitably involved as its corollary the denial of Free Will.

Individuality due to the Emancipation of the Will—In Nature there is progression from Dawn of Life to genus and class and on to the Individual ; and every step in advance is made in the gradual emancipation of being from the constraint of circumstances, in the development of self-determination.

Dr. W. B. Carpenter says in his *Principles of Comparative Physiology* : “ The whole *nisus* of Animal life tends towards the evolution of the faculties of Sensation and Self-determined motion, and its highest manifestation, to that of the Intelligence and the Will.” There is progress from the plant upward, with gradual and regular advance in Will-power. In Man, in consequence of this law, is to be found the highest development of the faculty of self-determination—in the complete emancipation of the Will. And man differs from his fellow-man, not so much by the colour of his hair, the shape of his nose, and the brilliancy or dulness of the eye, as in his force of will. It is power of volition, and of direction of life and action devolving therefrom, that gives personality. To declare with Augustine, Calvin, the theologians of Dort and Westminster, that man is deprived of Free Will, is to deny to the Almighty the accomplishment of His manifest purpose in Creation, to say to Him : “ Thus far shalt Thou go in the process of fulfilment of Thy law, as to invest the dog and the baboon with resolute Wills, but we forbid Thee to confer this power on Man, the Crown of Creation.” It is to throw man back to the position of the sponge, the polypus and the lichen.

Slavery—The moral sense of civilized men in the Old

and in the New Worlds is condemnatory of slavery. But Augustine and Calvin, by denying to man the freedom of will, made of the Almighty a great slave owner, slave driver, impelling helpless man, willy-nilly, to evil or to good, according to His caprice. In one point Augustine was inconsistent. He allowed that God gave to Adam Free Will, and it was by exercise thereof that he fell, and by his fall extinguished the faculty of Free Will in all his descendants. But why that faculty lost? Julian of Eclana attacked Augustine on this point. How can we have lost Will when we feel that we have it?

Augustine's Doctrine—Men, so taught Augustine,¹ since the Fall, had lost immortality as well as self-determination. For some time he hesitated to admit that they had forfeited the Freedom of their Will. In one of his first works on Pelagianism he asserted its existence. He argues in behalf of it. In his treatise *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* he says: "The fact that God's precepts themselves would be of no avail to a man unless his will were at full liberty to choose" proves its existence; ² and yet, in the same tract, he says that the wills of men are wholly at the disposal of God to turn them whithersoever He chooses and whensoever it suits His pleasure. This is giving with one hand and taking away with the other. As Euclio says in the *Aulularia* of Plautus: "Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostendit altera."

The divine purpose even drives man into horrible and unnatural sins, such as those mentioned by S. Paul (Rom. i. 24, 25). On which Augustine comments (*De Gratia et Lib. Arbit.* XXI), after quoting other passages that he conceives established his point: "From these statements of the

¹ In criticizing S. Augustine, we deal only with his controversial works, especially against Pelagius, and do not forget the vast debt the Church owes him for his other treatises, and commentaries.

After this chapter was written, there came to the notice of the writer a most striking and convincing work on Augustine by the late Dr. Allin, *The Augustinian Revolution in Theology*, J. Clarke, 13 Fleet Street; price 2s. 6d.; well deserving of study.

² See *De Civ. Dei*, V, 9, 10. In it he emphatically defends Free Will against the dilemma proposed by Cicero: If Man has Freedom of Will, then there can be no prescience in God. But if there be prescience in God, then man can possess no freedom of the Will. "A man does not therefore sin because God foreknew that he would sin. . . . It is the man himself who sins when he does sin" (c. 10). Soon after, he completely changed his opinion on this point.

inspired word, and similar passages it would take too long to quote in full, it is, I think sufficiently clear that God works in the hearts of men, whether to good deeds, *or to evil*."

That the impulse to evil came from God was what the heathen taught, and the idea was borrowed from them by Augustine. In the *Aulularia* of Plautus, God prompts Lyconides to debauch the daughter of Euclio. "Deus mihi impulsor fuit, is me ad illam illexit." And again: "Deos credo voluisse: nam ni vellent, non fieri scio."

Julian of Eclana, who had been expelled his see for his opposition to Traducianism, as he called Augustine's doctrine of the inheritance of an utterly corrupt nature from Adam, said very plainly that the God of Augustine was not the God of the Gospel; for by his teaching of the utter defilement of human nature he practically denied that God was the author of that nature, and so relapsed into Manichæism. And further, said he, in teaching that God punished unavoidable sin, and arbitrarily assigned the destinies of woe or of bliss, Augustine made of God one who was neither holy nor just. To create a man to lead a vicious life and then damn him for being vicious, does that comport with our ideas of a Righteous God. Does Scripture teach such a monstrous doctrine?

Augustine was placed in no small difficulty by his former admissions; but he wriggled out of it by explaining, especially in his *Epistle to Pope Boniface*, that he admitted that man had Free Will to carry him into the commission of every sort of evil; but that as to Free Will drawing him to God and God's service, *that* he did not allow him to possess. He could be drawn by Grace alone. Grace was a compellant, an irresistible force.

But here Augustine went partially wrong. *χάρις* is Favour, not necessarily *Gratia*, which is a partial rendering. It is best understood from its employment by S. Paul in 2 Corinthians xiii. "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, etc." That is to say, "May the Favour of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you." May you be regarded favourably, not may you be furnished with any gift.¹

¹ But as used in the Church Service it is intended, or was intended, to mean more than Favour.

Growth in Grace is Increase in Favour. By Grace we are saved means that our salvation is due to our having been taken into favour with God.

The word *hâs*, however, a double meaning, as employed by S. Paul. Usually it signifies the favour, or goodwill of God towards us ; but occasionally it may mean the *Help* afforded to such as stand in favour with God. Thus Romans xv. 15 ; “ I have written to you the more boldly, because of the grace that is given me of God.” Ephesians iii. 8 ; “ To me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach, etc.” Sometimes it is employed to express the help one set of Christians would display to another. Ephesians iv. 29 ; “ That your communication may minister grace to the hearers.” Where S. Paul says that he was assured by Christ 2 Corinthians xii. 9 ; “ My grace is sufficient for thee,” it signifies Assistance. It is a mistake always to render *χάρις* as Grace—help, above all as a compellant force. Its more general meaning is *Favour*.

Augustine, Calvin, the Divines of the Westminster Confession would persuade us that all men are mere machines predestined to do a certain work in a certain way, and are machines to be broken up and melted down in the furnace, when we have done what we were ordained to do.

Election—Election to life is purely arbitrary on the part of God, as Augustine says in his treatise *De Correptione et Gracia*. He wrote in *De Prædestinatione* : “ Not those are elected because they have believed, but who are elected that they may believe. . . . Therefore they were elected before the foundation of the world with the predestination in which God Himself foreknew what He would do.”

The Elect cannot be Lost—“ Of those predestined and called,” he wrote in *De Correptione*, “ according to His purpose, no one perishes. And so, none of them ends his life in a transition from good to evil, because he is so ordained that he may not perish, but have eternal life.” By this predestination of “ His children, they cannot perish.” “ Whosoever by God’s predestinate ordering are foreknown, predestined, called, justified, glorified . . . none absolutely can perish.”

The number of the elect is so certain that none can be added thereto nor detracted therefrom. All this is simply the introduction of Paganism into the Church of God.

In the supplementary scene to the last Act of *Phormio*, which is not held to be by the pen of Terence, Phaedria quotes the popular saying, "Fortune fashions the affairs of mankind as she pleases." Rendered into Augustinian language this would read: "God orders the affairs of mankind arbitrarily."¹

Phaedria concludes that men have their fates predetermined by the Gods, "and not by blind Chance." Augustine said the same. He did not borrow his doctrine from Terence, or his Continuer, but took up and assimilated the prevailing Pagan belief in the Immutable Decrees, against which the advocates of Chance protested. But these advocates were avowed Atheists; therefore, he assumed, their opponents were in possession of the Truth.

Men seldom see whither their principles tend. Augustine doubtless flattered himself that he had conciliated Theistic Paganism by his adoption of its doctrine of Predestination. Little did he dream of the mischief he was doing, of how subtly this Pagan germ introduced by him into the Christian system would lead to blood-poisoning, and do the work of Antichrist in many parts of Christendom very effectually.

What was S. Paul's teaching?—Now the teaching of S. Paul, in our opinion, is that our relation to the Old Adam, i.e. to fallen human nature, is twofold; we are partakers of this degenerate nature with its irregular appetites, and by deliberate exercise of our wills, we yield ourselves to its proclivities. Just so is our relation to the New Man twofold: we are partakers of a nature regenerate in Him; yet it remains for us, by the exercise of our wills, to work out the new life which is already ours by infusion through Christ. This, we take it, is the sum and substance of Christian doctrine as taught by general assent in the Church in all ages.

¹ This Augustine adopted from Gnosticism, which taught that only the πνευματικοί were to obtain complete redemption, and admission to the Pleroma. He seems to have been influenced by the Gnostic Bardesanes, in his denial of Free Will. Cureton (W.), *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 1855, I, "Bardesanes on Free Will."

But Augustine, and after him Calvin, the divines of Dort and of Westminster, taught the precise contrary, in that they denied the freedom of the Will. But the existence of this Will was the determining factor in the fall of man ; and, in like manner, the possession of this Free Will is the determining factor in his regeneration.

Admit this, and inevitably Augustine, Calvin and the divines of Dort and Westminster proclaim themselves as ministers of Antichrist, subverting the entire scheme of man's recovery, as ordained by God.

We are far from forgetting the splendid work done for the truth by Augustine, and for the Church in the earlier stage of his teaching. Solomon was in communion with God ; he was given the gift of wisdom by Jehovah. He was permitted to build and to dedicate a temple to the Most High, a temple on which the Shekinah, the glory-cloud of the Divine presence rested ; he wrote his Song of Songs, his Proverbs, and possibly Koheleth—accepted into the Canon of Scripture. Nevertheless, in his old age his heart was turned away to strange gods by his wives. And so was it with Augustine. His explanation of the Faith, his great achievement, the *De Civitate Dei*, are monuments to this day, testifying that he walked with God. But in his old age he was seduced from the God of Mercy, who had pity on the repentant Ninevites, and his heart and intellect were turned to follow the strange dogmas of the Stoics and the Pagan tragedians. We acknowledge his early works, and reject the latter, as Antichristian, and the source of incalculable evil.

Dangerous Tendency of the Doctrine—That the doctrine of Predestination was a danger to morals the Bishop of Hippo was constrained to admit, and accordingly he advised that it should be preached with caution. In his treatise *De Dono perseverantiæ*, he mentions a monk of his acquaintance who fell into irregularities, and who, when reprimanded, replied : “ Whatsoever I am now that God had predestined that I should be.” “ And,” adds Augustine, “ *this man certainly did say what was true.*”

Augustine was of the opinion of Naevolus in the ninth of Juvenal's *Satires*, who said : “ *Fata regunt homines,*” to explain and justify his leading a grossly immoral life. But

when Naevolus proceeds to draw therefrom the rigid conclusion that it avails not to pray, as Destiny seals up her ears with wax to the voices of petitioners, Augustine would have hesitated to admit a fact that followed inexorably from the premiss.

There is something pitiable in the sight of a man of great intellect and consummate piety, as was Augustine, trying to adjust his system to Scripture, or, to be more exact, torture Scripture to establish his scheme. He was labouring to effect an impossibility, for, as has been shown, Pagan Predestination and Hebrew Predestination were incompatible ideas. To veil his difficulties he had recourse to quips and evasions, and to envelop his argument in a cloud of words, so as to blind the eyes of his readers to the inconsequences of the writer.

According to his ruthless doctrine all unbaptized infants were condemned to everlasting perdition; and he was obliged to express a hope that the fires of hell might be mitigated for them, as they had died without having known the distinction between good and evil.¹ But Julian of Eclana pinned him down. "What," he asked, "do you say that God who has declared His goodwill towards us, who has so loved us that He spared not His own Son but delivered Him up for us, that He is the persecutor of the new born, that He delivers over to eternal flames the little ones, on account of an evil will, who never were able to exercise a will at all for good or evil?" Augustine vainly struggled to harmonize this teaching of his with the revelation of Divine love and mercy.

Questions Raised—Among the many questions provoked by Augustine four start up insisting on a straightforward answer and not a quibble.

1. What is the good of Prayer, when every man has been predestined ten thousand years before he was born to be broiled in hell fire through endless ages, not for any wrong that he has done, or else to everlasting felicity, not for any good he may have done?² This point did not escape the

¹ In *De Pecc. Mer. et Remiss.*, c. 19 (§ 25), he allows that infants dying after baptism, would be saved. See also *Ibid.*, c. 28 (§ 46), not those who died unbaptized.

² In flat contradiction to Our Lord's teaching, Matthew xix, 17; xxv, *et seq.*; v. 19, 20.

observation of a Pagan like Lucian. What, he asked, is the advantage of prayer and sacrifice made to supreme Zeus when he himself is subject to Destiny? And what can prayer and sacrifice avail to move Destiny when its judgments are irrevocable?

2. What is the use of Preaching when Predestination has long ago determined which of the hearers shall believe and which remain in unbelief?

3. What purpose can a Final Judgment serve when from all eternity every man's ultimate condition has been fixed? Augustine's doctrine resolves the Judgment Day into nothing other than a well-staged pageant.

4. Where is the obligation for Morality when all man's actions have been predetermined? This again was a point made by Lucian. If man's life is predestined to be what he proves himself to be, why, in common justice, should he be punished in this world or the next for murder, adultery, theft, sacrilege, or any other crime?

Results on Doctrine and Practice—Augustine, in the conflict of opinion raging in the Classic world between Destiny and Chance, could not, as a Christian, and would not consider the thought of Chance as admissible; and he vehemently spoke argued and wrote in favour of Destiny.

He had now two alternatives between which to make his selection:

1. The Pagan conception of an unalterable Tyche.
2. The Hebrew conception of a Conditioned Predestination, conditioned by the conduct of those whom it affected.

He chose the first.

This Paganizing of Christianity produced results in both doctrine and practice that affected ages unborn.

- I. In the Mediæval Latin Church it called up a legion of intermediaries between the Judge of the World and sinful man; as we shall see shortly.¹

¹ In the Oriental Churches it had no effect. Although in them there is Invocation of Saints, it reposes on a different conception. It is the realization of the Communion of Saints, in the asking of other members of the Church, as we might ask a mother or a brother or friend to unite with us in prayer. But no such a thought exists as the interposing of the Saints between man and the Saviour, the One Mediator between God and man.

2. It also called into existence the Calvinian theologic system formulated in the *Institutes*, finding expression in the Lambeth Articles, in those of the Synod of Dort, and in the Westminster Confession.
3. It also made Salvation to be *unconditional*, i.e. arbitrarily accorded, and wholly independent of effort on the part of man ; thus entirely reversing the Biblical teaching ; contravening what Christ Himself had laid down ; and going clean contrary to the moral doctrine of the Catholic Church, as summed so simply and intelligibly in the Church Catechism, which expresses man's position and hopes as due to a Covenant. God promises His help, and eternal life, *on conditions*.

Results on Character—Augustine's new doctrine, or, to be more exact, rejuvenation of an old non-Christian anti-Jewish belief, common to most Pagan nations, created a new type of character, analogous in Christendom to one that the same doctrine has produced in Islam. Everyone, according to the prophet, who accepted his revelation, and proclaimed : "Allah is great, and Mohammed is his prophet" is absolutely sure of Paradise and of frolics with the Houris, whatever his morality may have been ; but the Giaours, who do not believe, are doomed to everlasting perdition.

What floods of ink have been spilled over a question that might be sopped up by a pinch of Common Sense !

Surround their argument as much as they can with verbiage, the advocates of Necessity or rigid Predestination cannot obscure the broad, firm fact that, if it be admitted, human responsibility ceases to exist. Dr. Chalmers might say in one of his lectures : "Necessity, rightly understood, instead of laying an arrest on the powers and purposes of man, or in any way destroying his spontaneity, leaves him as busy and painstaking as before." It leaves him as busy and painstaking as before, solely because he does *not* in practical life believe the doctrine. The advocates of rigid predestination have ever been engaged in camouflaging the destroyer of morality, with more or less success, but all their

words are mere daubs of paint disguising the pernicious destroyer, whose real effect is to sink morality.

A Plea for the Exercise of Common Sense—And here the author must be allowed to put in a plea for Common Sense. There are Christian verities that are absolutely beyond the test of Experience, such as the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Resurrection, that must be accepted or rejected. If we accept them we are Christians, if we reject them we are not Christians, for they are fundamental doctrines. Common Sense cannot be applied to them because they are outside of human experience. They are revealed truths. They have been accepted by the Church Universal ; and the Church—here again is an assumption—has been divinely assured to proclaim the truth in such matters as are beyond the reach of human knowledge. Reject the witness of the Church, and good-bye to these Verities.

But with respect to other dogmas, such as concern man's position before God, and his duties and responsibilities, it is otherwise.

In every human soul is lodged a power of judgment, based partly on experience, partly on Divinely implanted Natural Religion, that must never be ignored, and must be put in exercise.

Too often one encounters men possessed of the shrewdest Common Sense relative to their transactions with their fellows, who, however, seem incapable of applying it to dogmas they have been taught in their youth in their chapels and churches. But surely, in the sphere of the relations of man to God, Common Sense should test all that they have been taught and have unintelligently received.

The writer has ventured to bring some of these popular dogmas to the touchstone of Common Sense. May his readers do the same.

We have referred several times to Lucian, and we will close this digression with another quotation from him. Philocles meets his friend Tychiades, and complains to him that he has been in the society of a number of ancient grave and reverend seigniors who have talked to him till his head spins of the gods and prophecies, and spiritual experiences. "Never worry about these things," says Tychiades. "We

possess a perfect antidote to all such stuff, Truth and Common Sense. Use them, and none of these crazy mental fancies will cause you any trouble."

Cassian—The extraordinary genius, the intellectual audacity of Augustine imposed on the minds of the bishops of the Latin Church at a period when original thought was decadent, and the mighty influence of his name prevailed over the Common Sense of men who could not think for themselves. But Augustine's theories did not pass without protest. Cassian, a disciple of S. John Chrysostom, had come to the Province. He had established a little monastery on a knoll rising out of the plain west of Cannes, and on the way to La Napoule ; the site is now deserted. Overgrown with ilexes and carob trees is a little chapel opened but once in the year, when Mass is said on 23 July, and numerous pilgrims are present. Cassian founded a school that maintained an obstinate contest against Augustinian Predestinarianism for considerably more than a century. The most distinguished prelates of the province of Arles were among its partisans, as well as the famous monastery of Lerins, the cradle of Saints and bishops of Southern Gaul.

That Augustinian doctrine was a novelty is not to be doubted. He himself avows that it was not that of the majority of his contemporaries. In his *Enchiridion* he states that his scheme was not in accordance with the belief of most Christians, and in another work he tells us that the usual reply made to the question Why men were not converted was " Because they are unwilling."

Prosper of Aquitaine was sufficiently candid to inform us that many Saints at Marseilles repudiated Augustine's teaching on the express ground of its novelty, saying that such doctrine " had never before been put forth by any Churchman."

What, the clergy of Massilia asked, is meant by the injunction " Ask, and it shall be given you ; seek, and ye shall find ; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," if Free Will be denied, and human effort be disparaged ? Prosper complained to Augustine : " When we bring forward the writings of your Beatitude, fortified by most valid and innumerable Scriptural testimonies, they defend their

persistence (in opposition) by its antiquity.”¹ Cassian, in his *Conferences* gives us the doctrine of the ascetics of the Desert. It was emphatically opposed to that of Augustine. (Cf. the *Conferènces* with *Chæremon* and *Paphnutius*.)

We can see from the teaching of these Abbots what was the traditional view of the relations between Grace and Free Will, till Augustine startled the Western Church with his novel doctrine.

The Massilian Clergy—The theologians of the South of Gaul, except Prosper and Hilary of Arles, were united in resolve to reject Augustine’s teaching, as not merely novel but also as practically dangerous. “They said, in effect,” to quote Canon Bright’s lucid summary of their position, “to treat Predestination as irrespective of foreseen conduct, and to limit the Divine goodwill to a fixed number of persons, thus selected, who, as such, are assured of perseverance, is not only to depart from the older theology, and from the earlier teaching of the Bishop of Hippo himself, but to cut at the root of religious effort, and to encourage either negligence or despair. They insisted that whatever theories might be devised concerning this mystery, which was not a fit subject for popular discussion, the door of salvation should be regarded as open to *all*, because the Saviour ‘died for all.’ To explain away the Scriptural assurance was, they maintained, to falsify the Divine promise and to nullify human responsibility.”²

When Vincent of Lerins propounded his famous dictum that the truth was to be found in what was taught “everywhere, always, and by all Christian communities,” he directed his shaft against the Augustinian dogma, though he named no names. The Eastern Churches remained uncontaminated with this virus. In fact, so little interest did

¹ Prosper informed Augustine that the feeling among the religious in the Province was that even if his doctrine were true that Predestination were Unconditioned, it ought not to be preached, because of the mischievous consequence that might ensue from it. It tempted the pious to feel secure and be inactive, and it led sinners to continue in sin, and despair, making no attempt to repent. We shall see how that to the present day the great severance between the doctrine of the Church and that of Methodists and Independents consists in this very question, Whether Divine Grace, whether acceptance with God, whether final Salvation is conditional or unconditional.

² *The Anti-Pelagian Treatises of S. Augustine*, with Introduction by William Bright, D.D., 1889, pp, liv, lv.

they take in the question that Socrates and Sozomon, the Church historians of the period, do not even notice Pelagius.

So wedded was the African Church to the Hebrew doctrine of Conditional Predestination that it used the story of God's repenting of His sentence against Nineveh, as a Canticle in Divine Service. Augustine himself admits this.

With his new dogmas Augustine introduced a whole category of new terms, "universal human depravity," "original sin," "effectual calling," and God's irreversible "decrees."

Novel altogether Augustine's doctrine was. He was the first in Christ's Church to deny that Christ died for all men, to deny to man the exercise of free will, to urge on the persecution of heretics to death, to exalt slavery as a Divine institution, to forge a theology so cruel, so shocking, that he himself, as he contemplated his accomplished work, stood aghast at its hideous completeness.¹ He was actually, truly an innovator altering the whole character of Christianity. A small clique of Augustinians in the province addressed a letter to Pope Cœlestine, urging him to condemn the Semi-Pelagians. They met with a sharp reprimand, bidding them, as priests, to concern themselves with matters of practical Christianity, and not intrude into subtle theologic questions, and cease to attack the ancient doctrine. "The Semi-Pelagians," says Neander, "asserted—and they could do it with more justice than their opponents—that by them the ancient doctrine of the Church was defended against the false doctrine recently introduced concerning absolute predestination, and against the denial of Free Will ; tenets wholly unknown to the ancient Church."

Disappointed in their efforts to obtain the condemnation of the Semi-Pelagians from either Cœlestine or his successor Sixtus, the disciples of Augustine formulated their doctrine in a tract entitled *Prædestinatus*, in which they rejected all the quips and quirks whereby Prosper and Hilary of Arles had endeavoured to disguise its immoral consequences. The author of this work boldly states that the Almighty created some men to be sinners and others to be saints ; and that these latter, however sinful their lives might be, and

¹ *De dono persever.*, XXII.

however unwilling they might be to be saved, will be saved in spite of themselves and their wishes.

Semi-Pelagianism—The so-called Semi-Pelagianism of the school of Cassian and Lerins was but a restatement on Provençal soil of the doctrine of Chrysostom as taught at Antioch and in Constantinople. Dean Milman thus describes it: "The whole theology of Chrysostom, in its general impression, is a plain and practical appeal to the free-will of man. He addresses man as invested with awful responsibilities, but as self-dependent, self-determining to good or evil. The depravity against which he inveighs is no inherited inherent corruption, to be dispossessed only by divine grace, but a personal, spontaneous, self-originating, and self-maintained surrender to evil influences; to be broken off by a vigorous effort of religious faith, to be controlled by severe self-imposed religious discipline. As far as is consistent with prayer and devotion, man is master of his own destiny."¹

But at a period when thought was inert, half dead and dumb, it was ready to accept Augustine's venturesome system and acquiesce in it.²

Gotteschalk—Augustinian Predestination seemed to have died a natural and unregretted death, as we hear no more of it till we learn that a Saxon monk named Gotteschalk of Fulda and Orbais, born about the year 808, having read Augustine's Treatises against Pelagianism, took up his doctrine with great vehemence, in an incursion into Lombardy, where he met with a bishop of the name of Nothing, whom he endeavoured to indoctrinate with the principles of Predestination. Nothing, troubled at this teaching, denounced him to Hrabanus Maurus, the new Archbishop of Mainz, as enunciating strange and dangerous doctrines. Hrabanus having inquired into the teaching of Gotteschalk wrote to Eberhard, Count of Friuli, with whom Nothing and Gotteschalk had been staying, and without naming the latter cautioned him against those who taught Predestination as making man sin in spite of himself. This, said

¹ *Latin Christianity*, X, p. 166.

² The Council of Orange held in 529 to settle the controversy, while exalting the power of Divine Grace, decided "as to Predestination forcing men to evil, let him who teaches that be anathema."

Hrabanus, is in contradiction to the doctrine that God is a righteous judge.

His Doctrine—The teaching of Gotteschalk was as follows: Every man comes into this world a slave to Original Sin and exists in a condition of servitude to Evil. He is totally incapable of even wishing to do that which is good. Owing to the utter corruption of his nature he cannot make the smallest effort to obey God; and as he was born evil, so evil he dies. However, it has pleased Divine Mercy to redeem a certain number of these miserable creatures. This is effected by the communication of Divine Grace, which is irresistible, and is given gratuitously, without any regard to the recipient, whether deserving or not. Thus he was a faithful disciple of Augustine.

A synod was held at Mainz, 1 October, 848, in which the opinions of Gotteschalk were examined and condemned. The monk was sent to Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, who exercised an almost papal authority at the time. With him Hrabanus sent a letter to Hincmar: "We bring to your notice a vagabond monk named Gotteschalk, who has come from Italy to us at Mainz and who has been spreading abroad a scandalous doctrine of Predestination, to the effect that Predestination is determinative alike to the good and to the bad; that there are those in the world who are compelled by divine Predestination to precipitate themselves into damnation, being incapacitated from escape out of error and sin, as though from the beginning God had made them incurable and had doomed them to punishment and to ruin. . . . We have ascertained, in fact, that he has seduced a great number of people, and has drawn them away from labouring zealously for their salvation, for, say they, 'What is the good of my troubling myself in the service of God? If I am predestined to death, I cannot escape it; if I am predestined to life, I shall attain to eternal beatitude, even if I do sin.' "

Condemned—In 849 a synod was held at Quiercy-sur-Oise, attended by fifteen bishops and several abbots. Gotteschalk could show that his doctrine was not novel, he could appeal to Augustine and Fulgentius of Ruspe, in its behalf. However, he was con-

demned, degraded from the priesthood, was scourged, and imprisoned.

But Gotteschalk had thrown the apple of discord among the theologians of France, and violent controversy broke out on the subject he had broached; wherein Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, and Ratram of Corbie took up their pens in defence of Augustine and Gotteschalk; but on the other side stood Scotus Erigena, also Florus of Lyons, who assumed a moderate position, and Amelo, Bishop of Lyons.

In 853 another synod was held at Quiercy-sur-Oise, and another in 855 at Valence, upon the subject of Gotteschalk and his doctrine; as well as on other matters. It is unnecessary to carry on the story of the controversy. What has been told shows how strong was the opposition roused in the Germanic and Gaulish realms against the doctrine of Augustine.

The Britons who had been converted had their own views as to Free Will and Grace, and found advocates in Pelagius and Coelestius, who roused the controversial wrath of Augustine. SS. Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes were dispatched into Britain (A.D. 429) to preach Augustinian Fatalism, but it is extremely doubtful whether they produced any lasting effect. When the Scandinavian and Germanic races accepted Christianity, the independence of character common to both, which was so conspicuous, did not dispose them to regard themselves as incapable of forming and carrying out a purpose for good or evil; indeed, it is probable that the relief effected by Christianity to the Fatalism under which they had lived in Heathenism was one great cause of the acceptance of "the White Christ" who set their wills free to regulate their own lives.

Scotus Erigena—It was from the Isle of Saints, to which Germanus and Lupus had been sent to preach Augustinianism, that came John Scotus Erigena, summoned by Charles the Bald to instruct the Church as to what it was to believe in Augustine's doctrine of absolute Predestination. He answered the call with alacrity, and in the year 851 he exposed to the eyes and nostrils of all men in his book *De Prædestinatione*, the *cloaca maxima* that

Augustine had run through Latin Christianity. The Bishop of Hippo himself, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Hilary of Arles, Prosper of Aquitaine, and many another defender or explainer of Augustine's doctrine, had laboured assiduously with rose and lavender water to disguise the ill-savour of this sewer. Their equivocations, their palliatives, could be easily detected. John Scotus, as it were, tore up the slabs that covered and hid the stream of Paganism that had been introduced into the Church, and pointed to the fact that this stream, exhaling fetor and poisonous vapours, was not Christian at all. He affirmed that both divine Grace and men's free-will were alike denied by it, since it derived the crimes which lead to damnation and the virtues that lead to eternal life from the inalterable determination of God. By unconditional necessity, on the one hand, Grace, as the free gift of God, is destroyed, and on the other, the free-will of man by compellant Grace is killed. Such a doctrine is irreconcilable with the idea of a good and a just God. But Scotus Erigena in speculating on God and on the nature of Sin did not himself escape falling into dangerous errors.

The question of Predestination was just what the schoolmen wanted in which to exercise their wits, and joust in dialectic tournaments; and for that cause it maintained its existence in medieval times.

An Historical Sequence—The following sequence seems to us to be well established :—

1. The primitive belief of mankind in the known world of old was that an inexorable and inscrutable Tyche ruled supreme.
2. That, to avoid this fatalism, the Pagan world called up a host of intermediaries, to whom prayer could be made, and who were capable of deflecting the strokes of Fate.
3. That another doctrine of Providence existed among the Hebrews, who regarded Jehovah as being merciful as well as just, and that He ordered the course of the world and the lives and destinies of men conditionally, that is to say, not by an irrevocable decree, but

by one to be put in force, modified or withdrawn, according to the conduct of men when made aware of God's will.

4. That the Early Church, in its first stage composed of Jews and Jewish proselytes, took over the Hebrew conception of Jehovah.
5. That in the Pagan world belief in the power of the intermediary Gods broke down wholly.
6. That this qualifying element being disposed of, there remained in the Classic mind only the alternatives of Destiny, and of Chance conductive to Anarchy.
7. That Augustine, out of touch with Judaism, and in close contact with Classic Paganism, accepted the Pagan doctrine of Inevitable Fate, and made shift to accommodate Christianity to it.
8. That Augustinian doctrine as to Predestination died out of consideration till revived by Gotteschalk in the ninth century, when it was repudiated very generally.
9. Thenceforth, however, it became the toy of the schoolmen, as an opinion to be discussed, but in no way to be insisted on as an Article of Faith.
10. In England it was reasserted by Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine, in the first half of the fourteenth century.
11. That it was restated as a logically formulated system *stantis vel cadentis ecclesiæ* by John Calvin early in the sixteenth century.
12. That at the present day Augustinian dogma is theoretically supreme in the Presbyterian "Churches" of Scotland, Holland, France, and Switzerland; and there it logically excludes all need for, all value in, prayer; as the "Decrees" are unalterable.
13. That in the Roman Catholic Church Augustinianism has so far prevailed as to have led it to reproduce from Paganism the system of Intermediaries.
14. That in the English Church, judged by her Formularies of Prayer, Augustinianism has no place what-

ever. It has been given, as the Germans would say, the "Gar-aus." It has, however, left its savour behind in certain of the Thirty-nine Articles, but in such a modified degree as to be innocuous.¹ The return is to the Jewish and Early Christian concept of Jehovah.

This is the conclusion at which we arrive ; and which we think we are justified in asserting ; and we feel disposed to say with the Watchman in the *Antigone* : " I readily speak to those that know ; but, as to those that know not, for them I have no memory."

Consequences—It had been well if theologians of subtle minds had been content to toy with Augustine's theories in their cells, or toss them to and fro in the schools ; but unhappily his opinions threw their fibres downward, and penetrated to all parts of Western Christendom. There it produced the effect of turning men's minds away from the conception of God as a Father, to consider Him as a rigorous Law-giver, and Christ as a stern Judge, invested with every attribute calculated to inspire terror. In Michael Angelo's fresco in the Sistine Chapel we have the Augustinian idea portrayed with brush and colour. " Trembling and anxious, the dead rise slowly, as if still fettered by the weight of an earthly nature ; the pardoned ascend to the blessed ; a mysterious horror pervades even their hosts—no joy, nor peace, nor blessedness, are to be found there. . . . Christ, the principal figure of the whole, wants every attribute but that of the Judge : no expression of divine majesty reminds us that it is the Saviour who exercises this office."²

¹ Also in the Catechism, wherein the child is said to be a child of wrath previous to baptism.

² Kügler (F. T.), *Handbook of the Hist. of Painting*, p. 308.

In the church of S. Paul beyond the walls is a series of mosaics above the chancel arch set up by order of Galla Placida, daughter of Theodosius and sister of Honorius (d. 450). The principal figure is that of Christ, a colossal half-length. " This figure," says Mr. Hemans, " is the earliest example, in Roman art, of aspect neither youthful nor beautiful, but elderly, stern and sombre. We cannot but see, in this art-work, an evidence of deterioration in the religious ideals ; it is the Son of God withdrawn from human sympathies, invested with attributes that only excite terror—the Judge effacing the Redeemer." *Historic and Monumental Rome*, 1874, pp. 663-4

The Eternal Father was conceived of as the inexorable Law-giver, and the Divine Son as the remorseless Judge executing the laws of the Father, an object of Terror not of Love.

Originates the Worship of Saints—Poor humanity, quivering with dread, looked around for advocates, mediators, to stand between them and the Judge, and found them in the Blessed Virgin and the Saints. Thus, the vast abuse of saint-worship, deflecting from the Saviour to the creature the office of advocacy for a sinful world, proper to Himself alone, was due to the prevalence of Augustinian teaching in the Latin Church. As the dogma of Inexorable Fate in the heathen world had produced the worship of Intermediaries, so its introduction into the Christian Church produced saint-worship.

The Reformers struck at, and banished, this abuse ; but it left man shivering as a criminal before the Judgment-seat, with none between to plead his cause, to entreat for mitigation of sentence, if not for pardon.

The Institutes—It was out of the dry bones of Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, and the schoolmen that Calvin constructed his system. In the Church of the Bona Morte at Rome, is a vault decorated with bones. Edmond About says that a Sacristan there devotes his life to the systematic arrangement of these bones. “ ‘ Monsieur,’ me disait il, ‘ Je ne suis heureux qu’ici, au milieu de mon œuvre. Ce monument que j’entretiens, que j’embellis, que j’égaye par mon talent, c’est devenu l’orgueil, et la joie, de ma vie.’ ”

The ossuary upon which Calvin spent his life was the *Institutes*. When this treatise appeared, then the whole horror of the situation revealed itself. Calvin had reduced Augustinian philosophy to a rigorous dogmatic formula, and forced it on men as an Article of Faith and a law of life.

It would have stood no chance whatever of being generally received had it not been that it suffered every man who accepted it to consider himself to be the Elect of God, and absolutely certain of Salvation, as it also provided him with the pleasing conviction that everyone whom he disliked, who had offended him, who did not accept this doctrine, would be damned everlastingly.

The Roman Church beat a partial retreat. It has never completely emancipated itself from the shackles of Augustinianism. It dared not do so, encumbered as it was with the consequences it had brought upon itself—the Blessed Virgin appealed to as the Mother of Mercy, the Refuge of Sinners, the Mediatrix between man and his Judge. Moreover, the principle justifying persecution and the Inquisition was based on Augustine's teaching and practice. This could not be repudiated. But in England our divines were brought face to face, eye to eye, with Augustinian fatalism in its most complete, crystallized form, in the five points of the Synod of Dort, and they met it with far more determination than could the Romish theologians, clogged with its pernicious results. We have room here to quote only Jeremy Taylor, combating the doctrine of the sentence of Condemnation passed on all men because that once, at a remote date, Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit.

Opposition of B. Jeremy Taylor—Bishop Jeremy Taylor wrote bluntly on the matter. "Was it just in God to damn all mankind to the eternal pains of hell for Adam's sin, committed before they had any being, or could consent to it, or know of it? If it could be just, then anything in the world can be just; and it is no matter who is innocent, or who is criminal, directly or by choice, since they may turn devils in their mothers' bellies; and it matters not whether there be any laws or no, since it is all one that there be no laws, and that we do not know whether there be or no; and it matters not whether there be any judicial proofs, for we may as well be damned without judgment as be guilty without action."¹

"And truly to say that for Adam's sin it is just in God to condemn infants to the eternal flames of Hell, and to say that concupiscence or natural inclinations before they pass into any act would bring eternal condemnation from God's presence into the eternal condemnation of devils, are two such horrid propositions that, if any Church in the world should expressly affirm them, I, for my part, should think it unlawful to communicate with her in the defence or profession of either, and to think it would be the greatest

¹ *Works*, IX, p. 332.

temptation in the world to make men not to love God, of whom men so easily speak such horrid things.”¹

“Abraham was confident with God, ‘Wilt thou slay the righteous with the wicked? Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?’ And if it be unrighteous to slay the righteous *with* the wicked, it is also unjust to slay the righteous *for* the wicked. . . . It were an intolerable law, and no community would be governed by it, that the father or the grandfather should sin, and the son or nephew should be punished.”²

There is more to the same effect.

Election—The expression Election is freely employed as a substitute for Predestination, or as representing the same from a slightly different point of view. Both are made use of to establish the doctrine of Arbitrariness as a characteristic quality of the Most High. S. Paul is freely quoted to substantiate this. The text relative to Jacob and Esau is triumphantly appealed to as conclusive. “For the children being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to Election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth. It was said unto her (Rebecca) The Elder shall serve the Younger. As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.”

But in this case Election is the consequence of prevision, not of Predestination. It may be argued that God elected Jacob to be the Father of the Faithful in place of Esau, because He *foresaw* that the former would be docile, and the latter indocile. Esau, deliberately, by an exercise of free will, sold his birth-right. And that this selection was thus motivated would seem to have occurred to the Apostle, from what he subjoins: “Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid.” But unrighteousness there would be with God if the Election were made out of caprice.³

When the Doctrine is Harmless—Although the doctrine of Predestination and Election has had a mischievous effect

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39. Sancroft's *Fur prædestinatus* was so true an exposure of Predestination and its results that it aroused the fury of the Puritans.

³ See Chrysostom, *Homilies on Romans*, XVI, XVIII, XIX; also *Hom. II*, on 1 Cor. i, 4-7; *Hom. XIV*, on 1 Cor. iv, 21, “God made thee a free agent, that thou mightest not accuse Him as though necessity bound thee.”

on many, many thousands, driving some to despair, others to overweening self-confidence, it has not had this effect universally. John Henry Newman wrote in his *Apologia* : " One of the first books I read was a work of Romaine's ; I neither recollect the title nor the contents, except one doctrine, which, of course, I do not include among those which I believe to have come from a divine source, viz. the doctrine of final perseverance. I received it at once, and believed that the inward conversion of which I was conscious (and of which I still am more certain than that I have hands and feet) would last unto the next life, and that I was elected to eternal glory. I have no consciousness that this belief had any tendency whatever to lead me to be careless about pleasing God." This unquestionably is the condition of many pious persons who are conscious of having turned to God ; but, as Newman, in the final sentence, himself hints, it is liable to conduce to carelessness and lack of fervour in pressing onward, in running the race of the Christian course.

Even S. Paul, whose conversion was miraculous, could fear lest he who preached to others might himself become a castaway ; and surely this timorousness, this clinging to Grace, is more like the Christian life than an Assurance which banishes anxiety, and superinduces, or may superinduce, religious lassitude, and which too often engenders the Pharisaic spirit.

Passively received, this doctrine is but a form of words, and means no more than the hope of a happy future, which every soul, with or without just grounds, entertains. But it fits into vigorous, self-reliant minds, and leads them to swell with confidence, to walk the earth as if it already belonged to them, to regard themselves as impeccable and infallible ; " I am Sir Oracle, and when I open my mouth let no dog bark ! " ready to regard others, halting as to absolute conviction, as passed over to the power of the devil.

Speculative Theories made Articles of Faith—It is in Confessions of " Evangelical " bodies that Predestination, Reprobation, the Irresistibility of Grace, the Denial of Free Will are elevated to be Articles of Faith. In the Thirty-nine Articles the 9th, 10th, and 17th deal with Original Sin, Free Will, Predestination, and Election, yet in such

cautious terms as not to compromise the English Church. That on Predestination and Election is the least satisfactory ; but its terminology was adopted so as not to condemn Augustinianism ; as the teaching of that father, at the time, was overwhelmingly authoritative in Rome as well as in Geneva and in Canterbury. Moreover, it allows Predestination to exist, in a fashion, which nobody in his senses can deny.

Already, even in Scotland, except among the most ignorant, and in Wales the authority of the Institutes and of the Westminster Confession is on the wane. Predestination as a doctrine of Salvation has had its day, and by most men is tacitly rejected or disguised into something else.

All Based on a Single Hypothesis—As we have seen already and shall again urge, it rests wholly and solely on a single hypothesis—the Denial of Free Will. It is like one of Prince Rupert's Drops, of which if you snap a petty thread the whole glass globule shivers into dust.

An army chaplain meeting a Scottish soldier who had imbibed a drop too much offered to guide him to the barracks. On the way Sandy became discursive : " Ye ken, chaplain," said he, " ma faither is a very releegious man, and I'm that way inclined masel'. Noo I'd like to ha'e a bit argument wi' ye on Predestination."

" Hadn't you better wait until you are sober, Sandy ? " he replied.

" Hoots mon," said the Scot, " I don't care a d—— aboot Predestination when I'm sober."

That is very much the opinion of every sensible Presbyterian at the present day. Calvinism, as a religious force, is no more.

The Man of Common Sense called up—Plato, in the dialogue *Meno*, makes Socrates show the Thessalian that every man comes into the world possessed of innate ideas ; to exhibit this he summons a boy and sets before him certain elementary geometrical figures, and draws out from his answers the revelation that he—though wholly unlearned in geometry—possesses certain innate faculties as to perception of shape and addition of numerals.

In like manner all men possess innate moral perceptions

and rational faculties, their moral perceptions may be more or less obscure, and may in process of time become more or less distorted. Nevertheless, there they are.

We will call up the man of Common Sense, nay even, like Socrates, the urchin of nine or ten years, to refute the Genevan divine. "Boy! tell us, have you Free Will, or are you a mere machine?" The answer at once given is: "Certainly, I can determine my own course so far as circumstances allow. Do you take me for a fool? I am not going to stay here to answer silly questions. Gentlemen! Good day!"—But grant that man has a Free Will, and the entire Augustinian-Calvinian superstructure crumbles away.

The Premiss Denied, the whole System Collapses—The Premiss of Calvin denied; then we see that the Creator accorded to man, His Creature, the royal prerogative of Free Will, of self-determination. By so doing He precluded Himself from the exercise of Predestination as to man's moral acts and future condition. A man who has given his cage-bird freedom cannot compel it to do this or that which he had taught it, cannot compel, even expect it to return. He may whistle to it, call to it, invite it with grain or fruit, but his power over it has been voluntarily abandoned and can no more be exerted.

God does, indeed, so far predestinate one born into the world as to determine where he shall be born and what shall be his faculties of mind and body; whether he shall be the child of a prince or of a pauper, whether he be born at Tooting or in Timbuctoo. But to that His Predestination is limited. As to man's moral course that is left to man's self-determination.

Appeal through Fear, Reason, and Love—A being to have the capacity for loving or fearing must be free; and freedom brings with it the power to rebel. God, in having given to man Free Will, to be true to His purpose and to His nature, must bear with man's rebellion; all He can do, in the nature of the case, is to recall man to obedience through action on his will, and this He does through manifestation of Himself in power, and above all in love. Under the Old Dispensation, the appeal to the Jew was through fear of chastisement, to bring him to obedience.

But to the heathen world the appeal was through Reason. And here Plato and his school approached nearest to the truth, whereas the Oriental thinkers went widely wrong in accentuating the antagonism between the spirit and the body.

Under the New Dispensation the appeal to man to obey is through Love.

The appeal through fear had effected one thing, it had brought the Jew to break definitely with idolatry. After the return from Babylon there was no more straying in that direction, but there was a hardening into spiritual pride.

The appeal to Reason had produced no wide-spread result. Philosophy might regulate the life of the thinking man, but had no power whatever over the generality of men.

The appeal to love, through Jesus Christ stretched on the Cross, extending His arms to all the world—who can shut his eyes to its consequences? “I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. . . . What are these which are arrayed in white robes, and whence came they? . . . These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. . . . They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more: neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters; and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes.”

Who dares to say that the appeal to love has not met with a mighty response, and is being answered every day, and will be answered to the end of time?

Diametrically Opposed Systems—Thus: The Christian system of Salvation and Augustinian-Calvinian Predestination are in diametrical opposition.

Reversion to the History of Whitefield—And now let us quit a subject that one touches with hesitancy and a feeling as though one were treading on the fringe of a quicksand,

that has engulfed many thousands, who have not sunk alone, but in going down have clutched at others, refusing to be shaken off, and have drawn them into the same abyss of destruction.

Convulsions—The same phenomena attended Whitefield's preaching that had that of Wesley. In his *Journal* he enters: "As I was preaching four persons sunk down almost in the same moment: one lay without sense or motion; a second trembled exceedingly; a third had strong convulsions all over his body. Another, struck through as it were with a sword, fell trembling to the ground in crying and pain for twelve or fourteen hours. Many roared, utterly refusing to be comforted. Some, strangely torn by the devil, a young woman on the bed, two or three persons holding her: anguish, horror, and despair, above all description, in her pale face. A thousand distortions showed how the dogs of hell were gnawing her heart. Her shrieks not to be endured. She shrieked out, 'I am damned! damned! and lost for ever!'—Another woman lay on the ground, furiously gnashing her teeth, roaring aloud; not easy for three or four persons to hold her; sometimes screaming, then breaking into a horrid laughter mixed with blasphemies and curses."

Whitefield and Rum and Slavery—The life of Whitefield affords us striking evidence that revivalist fervour may go hand in hand with moral obtuseness. The humane General Oglethorpe, who projected the colony of Georgia as an asylum for unfortunate debtors from the cruel penal inflictions of the British code at that period, made the existence of slavery in the Colony to be absolutely prohibited. "It is," said he, "against the Gospel, as well as the fundamental law of England. We refused, as trustees, to make a law permitting such a horrid crime."

Whitefield, however, complained when he was in Georgia: "It is little better than to tie their legs and bid them walk," than to prohibit the sale of rum and the purchase of slaves; and he proposed to memorialize the trustees of the Corporation to rescind their condemnation of both practices.

■ In applying to the Governor for a grant to found a college, he urged his request by stating that "a considerable sum of

money is intended speedily to be laid out in purchasing a large number of negroes." In a memorial to the Archbishop of Canterbury for pecuniary assistance, he informed him that the number of slaves he had, young and old, amounted to thirty, and he showed how that by "laying out only a thousand pounds in purchasing an additional number of negroes, the income of the college would be easily augmented." It appears that notwithstanding the humane intentions of the founder of the Colony, Whitefield succeeded in neutralizing them. In the year of his death he was the owner of fifty slaves, whom he bequeathed to the Countess of Huntingdon.

Selina Countess of Huntingdon—Selina Shirley, daughter and coheiress of the second Earl Ferrers, had married Theophilus Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, in 1728. He died in 1748, and she was left a widow, very wealthy and ambitious. She was "converted" by her sister-in-law, Lady Margaret Hastings, and became a member of the first Methodist society in Fetter Lane in 1739. But she broke with Wesleyanism and adopted strong Calvinistic opinions. Acting under the impression that, as a Countess, she might nominate any number of chaplains, she took Whitefield, Venn, Romaine, and Toplady, among others, under her protection, and built chapels in all the principal watering-places, which she supplied with her preachers, to whom she gave the black scarf, as the Pope confers the pall.

Trevecca—She also founded a college at Trevecca, in Brecknockshire, in which a number of youths were trained in rigid Calvinism, and ripened for the ministry; and she found easy-going Bishops to ordain them. If refused ordination, it did not much matter, they were employed as itinerant missionaries.

Her Preachers—She not only thus supplied her chapels, but she called on Calvinistically disposed incumbents to leave and neglect their own churches, so as to perform in her chapels at Bath, Cheltenham, Tonbridge, and other like places of fashionable resort. She had them capering about her, fawning, smirking, feeding at her well-spread table, drinking of the contents of her well-stored cellar, and piously coquetting with their nobly born lady-guests at her

house, Donnington Hall, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, or her town house in Park Street. She obtained for them introductions to the residences of countesses, dowager duchesses, and middle-aged spinsters of rank, whom they flattered, pranced round, salaaming, and from whom they extracted subscriptions for "the Cause."

Her Despotic Rule—The Countess exercised a despotic rule over her chaplains. When Rowland Hill in a sermon said: "However I might be disposed to vote for the reduction of Episcopacy in the English Church, yet I had much rather be under the Right Reverend Father in God with us, than under the jurisdiction of the Most Reverend Mother in God among the strictly Independents," Lady Huntingdon forbade his preaching in her chapels.

Horace Walpole gives us an instance of the manner in which these sanctimonious sharks preyed upon the noble ladies who were weak enough to allow them to swim around them. "The Apostle Whitefield is come to some shame. He went to Lady Huntingdon lately and asked for forty pounds for some distressed saint or other. She said she had not so much money in the house, but would give it him the first time she had. He was very pressing, but in vain. At last he said, 'There's your watch and trinkets, you don't want such vanities, I will have that.' She would have put him off, but he persisting, she said, 'Well, if you must have it, you must.' About a fortnight afterwards, going to his house, and being carried into his wife's chamber, among the paraphernalia of the latter the Countess found her own offering. This has made a terrible schism; she tells the story herself—I heard it from Saint Frances (Shirley)."

Her Chapels—The chapels the Countess had built were licensed, but not under Episcopal jurisdiction, and as they were hotbeds of Calvinism they were a serious menace to the welfare and orthodoxy of the Church. The danger was pressing, as it had been in the reign of Charles I, when Laud had put a stop to the forcing into parish churches of lecturers appointed by a lay-committee in London.

Decision of the Ecclesiastical Courts—The case was tried in the Ecclesiastical Courts in 1777, as to whether the domestic chapel of a peer was exempt from ecclesiastical

jurisdiction. What constituted a domestic chapel? Must it be contiguous to the residence of the peer who appointed the chaplain? Must the service therein performed be according to the rites of the Church of England? Might such a chapel be open to any save the inmates of the peer's dwelling? Was it necessary that such a chapel should be registered in the Bishop's Court?

Lady Huntingdon Severs Connexion with the Church—

These points were debated, and judgment was given against the claims of Lady Huntingdon; whereupon she withdrew her chapels from the Church of England, and, taking advantage of the Toleration Act, had them registered as Dissenting Conventicles. By this she alienated Romaine, Venn, and a few others, who, however, did not so wholly desert as not to preach occasionally in her chapels.

On the other hand, Thomas Wills of S. Agnes, Cornwall; William Taylor, and some others, severed their connexion with the Church, and became salaried ministers of My Lady's "New Connexion," which now drew up Fifteen Articles of Belief, and in 1783 proceeded to ordain ministers. At the death of Lady Huntingdon, in 1791, sixty-four chapels had been built and endowed by her; and the sect she founded survives as the Calvinistic Methodist Connexion. It has dwindled, having now forty-three chapels, more or less moribund.

At the same time, in 1777, by a decision of the Consistorial Court, it was pronounced illegal for clergy of the Church to preach in Dissenting pulpits. Very generally the Evangelicals ignored the law. Venn continued to do so until 1790, when compelled to desist through growing infirmities. In 1786 he preached for eight consecutive Sundays in Surrey chapel.

Antinomian Difficulties—Lady Huntingdon had some trouble in keeping all her chaplains under control. Some broke loose and adopted wild theological notions. Martin Madan, in whom she had reposed great confidence, wrote *Thelyphthoria* in defence of a plurality of wives. While it was in the press My Lady wrote to entreat its suppression, and added, "that she could send him a paper signed by above three thousand persons making the same request."

Madan replied that if there were six thousand names it would not prevent the publication of the book.

Secession of Clergy—A certain number of clergy, when forbidden by the Bishops preaching in dissenting meeting-houses, threw up their orders and became ministers in various Bethels—Calvinistic, Wesleyan, Sandemanian, and Moravian.

A man named George Thompson, vicar of S. Genys in Cornwall, had a dream in which he heard a voice cry : “ This day month, at six in the afternoon, you must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, to give an account of your past.”

Thompson, throwing down his ecclesiastical vesture at the feet of his bishop, repudiated his Orders and turned itinerant preacher. The foretold day arrived, passed, and found Thompson in his usual health. Happily for him his vicarage had not been given away, and he returned to it. Wesley visited him in 1782 when he was ill and dying and in a despairing state as to his salvation.

Hackney College—Before the end of the century the Rev. John Eyre, minister of a Church Proprietary Chapel in the prosperous suburb of Hackney, was the principal founder of Hackney College, instituted for the cheap education of young men, who were to be incidentally Independent preachers, but were to be wholly undenominational. And this was but one symptom out of many. The Evangelical clergy regarded the Dissenting ministers as their equals and coadjutors in the work of the Gospel. The Independents acquiesced in the constitution of the London Missionary Society, in which everything relating to the order and the worship of a Christian Church was expressly classed among non-essentials.

Teaching Conduces to Schism—When Lady Huntingdon had seceded from the Established Church, Berridge wrote to her : “ You say the Lord is sending many Gospel labourers into the Church. True, and with a view, I think, of calling His people out of it, because when such ministers are removed by death, or transferred to another vineyard, I see no fresh Gospel labourers succeed them, which obliged the forsaken flock to fly to a meeting. What has become

of Mr. Venn's Yorkshire flock? What will become of his Yelling flock, or of my flocks at our decease? Or what will become of your students at your removal? They are virtual Dissenters now, and will be settled dissenters then."

This was a sufficiently frank confession of dishonesty. We shall see in the next chapters how that the Evangelical clergy were the great propagandists of dissent. Many of them remained in the Church, with which they were not in sympathy, for the deliberate purpose of using their position to undermine the faith of their congregations in Church principles.

Breach between Wesley and Whitefield—It was inevitable that a breach should occur between two such headstrong men as Whitefield and Wesley. This occurred in 1741. "During my journey through America," says Whitefield, "I had written two well-meant, though injudicious, letters against England's two great favourites—*The Whole Duty of Man* and Archbishop Tillotson, who, I said, knew no more of religion than Mahomet. Mr. John Wesley had been prevailed upon to preach in favour of perfection and universal redemption, and very strongly against Election, a doctrine which, I thought, and do now believe, was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from. I had written an answer, which, though revised and much approved of by some judicious divines, I think had some too strong expressions about absolute Reprobation, which the Apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed.

"This paper was printed, and copies of it distributed among Wesley's audience at the Foundery; upon which Wesley, having procured one of the copies, exhibited it from the pulpit and then tore it in pieces, an act which was immediately imitated by all those present to whom it had been given."

Two Several Gospels, neither True—Wesley afterward went to hear Whitefield preach, and then and there told him to his face that they preached two different Gospels, and that therefore he could not, and would not, extend to him the right hand of fellowship. Said he, relative to Whitefield's Calvinism: "Supposing one in twenty of mankind are (i.e. is) elected, then nineteen out of twenty are reprobated ;

the elect shall be saved, do what they will ; the reprobated shall be damned, do what they can."

On the other hand, Whitefield could be bitter against Wesley's Arminianism. Here is a passage from his *Gospel Magazine*: "Scarce had our first parents made their appearance when Satan, the first Arminian, began to preach the pernicious doctrine of Free Will to them, which so pleased the old gentleman and his lady that they (like thousands of their foolish offspring in our day) adhered to the deceitful news, embraced it cordially, disobeyed the command of their Maker, and by so doing launched their whole posterity into a cloud of miseries and ills. But some, perhaps, will be ready to say that Arminianism, though an error, cannot be the root of all other errors—to which I answer that, if it first originated with Satan then, I ask, from whence springs every error or evil in the world? Surely Satan must be the first moving cause of all evils that ever did, do now, or ever will make their appearance in this world; consequently he was the first propagator of the cursed doctrine above mentioned. Hence Arminianism begat Popery, Popery begat Methodism, Methodism begat Moderate Calvinism, Moderate Calvinism begat Baxterianism, Baxterianism begat Unitarianism, Unitarianism begat Arianism, Arianism begat Universalism, Universalism begat Deism, and Deism begat Atheism." As it was, Wesley's Gospel was as untrue as that of Whitefield. The practical results were the same, the processes whereby reached, the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Ordinary Presbyterian Preaching—Very different from Whitefield's sensational preaching was that of the ordinary Presbyterian minister. Dr. Crozier, in his Autobiography, describes that: "After a prayer which for sheer length distanced all subsequent parallels in my experience, the minister thawed in utterance, and full of zeal would set out on the main feat and business of the day, which was nothing less than the delivery of two sermons in succession, with little or no interval between them. . . . As for text and ostensible *motif* of the sermon it mattered little; he would start anywhere, ranging freely, and without apparent preference, through all parts of the Old and New Testaments,

but after a formal and merely complimentary glance at the context and environment of his subject he would swiftly be drawn into the vortex of Calvinistic theology and carried along its rocky bed to the predestined end. No word of general human interest, nor hint of any personal experience of his own or another's . . . warmed these, to me, dreary discourses; indeed, all such trivial personal matter he would have regarded as beneath the dignity and solemnity of his high theme; but the soul and centre of every discourse, the hinge on which all turned was what he called the 'Scheme of Salvation,' a high and logical structure, erected with vast labour and expenditure of thought, and supported on two massive pillars, the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace, beneath whose cold and lofty arches, indeed, the multiform concrete sins and temptations of poor erring men and women might have walked in and out unchecked." ¹

Effect of a Revival—It may well be supposed what an effect would be produced on such a congregation when a Revivalist preacher came among it. Dr. Crozier describes such a result. "So violent did the excitement sometimes become (especially when, after one or two prayers, the whole atmosphere of the meeting was surcharged with pent-up emotion) that I remember an old man, a negro, who beginning in a subdued and gentle voice would, to give himself free play and expansion as his passion rose, first roll up one sleeve then the other, then strip off in turn, and all unconsciously, his coat, waistcoat, and neck-cloth respectively, until, the whirlwind of his emotion being at its height, in desperation he tore off his collar with both hands and bared his black shining breast to the air, then only gained the freedom necessary to enable him to sail along the course of his inner rhapsody without let or obstruction. . . . Now all this fine frenzy, this tempestuous emotion, which so stirred the congregation to its depths and was regarded as an index and measure of the divine afflatus and of the presence of the Holy Spirit Himself, was to us boys a matter of entire indifference, mere spectacle without ulterior significance, a phenomenon to which we had got accustomed." ²

¹ Crozier (J. B.), *My Inner Life*, 1898, pp. 38-9.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Bage on the Calvinists—Here is a passage from Bage's *Hermesprong* that shows in what aspect this doctrine is viewed by the ordinary man of intelligence.

In a certain village, a storm had wrecked the cottages. "Here is a gentleman," says Miss Campinet, "has been among the cottagers ever since the dawn of day. All the labourers are at work to repair their respective damages. He promises their usual pay to all and a gratuity over to those he finds most industrious. In the meantime the butcher is stripped of his meat and the baker of his bread, for the use of the women and children. Perhaps you know him? 'Yes,' replied the (Rev.) doctor, 'but you know without faith our best works are splendid sins.' 'So this profusion of benevolence is with you, doctor, only a splendid sin?' 'Nothing more. A pure stream cannot flow from a corrupt fountain.' 'You prefer faith, then, to charity?' 'Certainly, Miss Campinet—to everything.' 'I own, doctor, I feel a bias in favour of such splendid sins.'"

This Reverend Doctor was on the high-road to a Bishopric, or at least a Deanery, and it was of stuff such as this that the Sumners, the Closes, the MacNeiles, the Villiers, the Thorolds, and the Wigrams were made.

J. A. Froude on an Evangelical Meeting—Mr. J. A. Froude describes an Evangelical meeting that he attended. "The teaching was of the ordinary kind expressed only with more than usual distinctness. We were told that the business of each individual man and woman in the world was to save his or her soul; that we were all sinners together—all equally guilty, hopeless, lost, accursed children, unable to stir a finger or do a thing to help ourselves. Happily we were not required to stir a finger, or, rather, we were forbidden to attempt it. An antidote had been provided for our sins and a substitute for our obedience. Everything had been done for us, we had only to lay hold of the perfect righteousness which had been fulfilled on our behalf. We had but to put on the vesture provided for our wearing and our safety was assured. The reproaches of conscience were silenced. If, on the other hand, we neglected the offered grace; if through carelessness or intellectual perverseness, or any other cause, we did not apprehend it

in the proper manner ; if we tried to please God and ourselves by works of righteousness, the sacrifice would then cease to avail us. It mattered nothing whether, in the common acceptation of the word, we were good or bad ; we were lost all the same, condemned by perfect justice to everlasting torture. And he quoted the hymn sung at the meeting, of which the following are two verses :

Nothing, either great or small,
Nothing, sinners, no ;
Jesus did it,—did it all
Long, long ago.

Weary, weary, burdened one
Wherefore toil you so ?
Cease your doing ; all was done
Long, long ago.”¹

Mr. Froude comments on the teaching he had heard in the meeting described. He says : “ It is, of course, impossible for human creatures to act towards one another on these principles. The man of business on weekdays deals with those whom he employs on weekday rules. He gives them work to do, and he expects them to do it. He knows the meaning of good desert as well as of ill desert. He praises and he blames. He will not hear of vicarious labour. He rewards the honest and industrious. He punishes the lazy and vicious. He finds society so constructed that it cannot exist unless men treat one another as responsible for their actions, and as able to do right as well as wrong.

“ The listeners, however, seemed delighted. They were hearing what they had come to hear—what they had heard a thousand times before, and would hear with equal ardour a thousand times again—the Gospel in a nutshell ; the magic formulas which would cheat the devil of his due. However Antinomian the theory might sound it was not abused by anybody present for purposes of self-indulgence. While they said that it was impossible for men to lead good lives, they were, most of them, contradicting their words by their practice. While they professed to be thinking only of their personal salvation, they were benevolent, generous,

¹ Froude (J. A.), *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, II, p. 147.

and self-forgetful. People may express themselves in what formulas they please ; but if they sincerely believe in God they try to act uprightly and justly."

The relish felt by the Evangelicals for the dogma of the ineradicable wickedness of human nature was due more to their judgment of their neighbours than to self-introspection. The second verse of a hymn by Joseph Hunt (1759) begins :

" Everything we do, we sin in," even presumably in eating humble pie. This conviction became pretty general, poured into Protestant ears by their preachers, and as Mr. Hubble says, in *Great Expectations*, every mother's son is " Naterally Wicious."

The Antidote—Happily, as has been already said, the Creator has lodged in the human heart an antidote to this teaching, an inherent moral conscientiousness which neutralizes the dogmatic poison received through the ears, and it is the existence of this moral consciousness, the exercise of which the Revivalist is so assiduous in denying, that saves Evangelicalism from practical Anomia.

We may well ask whether such teaching, which is inconsistent with the facts of Nature and of social existence, and which has to be incessantly denied in act, though admitted in principle, is not a perversion of the Gospel ?

" And this," Mr. Froude goes on to say, " is Protestantism. To do our duty has become a deadly thing. This is what, after three centuries, the Creed of Knox and Luther, of Coligny and Gustavus Adolphus has come to. The first Reformers were so anxious about what man did that they would have laid the world under a discipline as severe as that of the Roman censors. Their modern representatives are wiser than their fathers and know better what their Maker requires of them. To the question, ' What shall I do to inherit eternal life ? ' the answer of old was not ' Do nothing,' but ' keep the Commandments.' It was said by the Apostle from whose passionate metaphors Protestant theology is chiefly constructed that ' The Gentiles, who did by nature the things contained in the Law,' were on the road to the right place. But we have changed all that

A Terrible Creed—" ' We are left face to face with a creed which tells us that God has created us without the power to

keep the Commandments—that He does not require us to keep them ; yet, at the same time, that we are infinitely guilty in His eyes for not keeping them, and that we justly deserve to be tortured for ever and ever, to suffer, as we once heard an amiable, excellent clergyman express it, ‘ to suffer the utmost pain which Omnipotence can inflict and the creature can endure without annihilation.’ ”

Its preposterousness—Verily the Romish doctrine of Purgatory is mercy itself to this horrible doctrine ; for the Papist limits suffering to the time required for the purging away of the dross of life ; whereas the Calvinist allows no hope of alleviation, no prospect of release from purposeless, vindictive torture. And what is more, the punishment is out of all proportion to the offence. Millions upon millions of years succeeded by other millions of excruciating torture, inflicted for a few peccadilloes committed, maybe, in ignorance.

There was bred in the minds of pious Evangelicals an actual dread of doing that which Conscience points out as right to be done, lest this should lead them to suppose that they had accomplished some meritorious act, whereas the proper feeling to be entertained is that we can do nothing to please God, and that we must understand that God does everything for us.

Mrs. Sherwood in her *Life* narrates how that, as a young woman just emerging from girlhood, in the “Flapper” condition, when walking alone in the street, she was accosted in a complimentary speech. She drew back and resolved never again to listen to civilities. Next day she thanked God that she had formed this resolution. “ Here we find double deception ; first, in the resolutions formed of doing all things well, and, secondly, in the persuasion that all had been so done, as far as occasion served.

“ The lesson, therefore, which in due time must be learnt by all, that man is nothing, and that God is all in all, was still to be acquired by me from its very commencement.” ¹

The reader will notice how that this doctrine is completely paralysing to all endeavour.

Assurance—There is something very painful to a humble

¹ Kelly (S.), *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, 1854, p. 220.

Christian in the air of self-importance, self-righteousness, and contempt for all such as cannot boast of Assurance, that characterizes the T.P.'s, as the self-esteeming Evangelicals of the Calvinian persuasion were called. We may be thought to exaggerate the fact of their conviction that they, and they alone, constitute the élite of Godliness, of the Court circle of Jehovah. This the author would be most reluctant to do. For the last fifty years he has not been brought in contact with these people, but he knew them previous to that date. He prefers, therefore, to let them describe themselves than himself to give an account of his experiences among them and the impressions they produced on his mind. He is further convinced that they are a dwindling faction, doomed to speedy extinction.

Mrs. Sherwood—We will quote a passage from the *Life of Mrs. Sherwood* to serve our purpose. She had a daughter, and the poor child was terrified at the prospect of Judgment and Damnation.

“ I had ever taught my child that the Lord, the Saviour, would preserve her in Judgment if she trusted in Him ; but my instructions had failed of giving her satisfaction. In fact, I fear that I was then very unable to give a reason for the hope that was within me ; for I was clinging to one great and general error—that man had some Condition to fulfil on the non-fulfilment or fulfilment of which his salvation must depend. M. Malan (a Swiss Calvinist pastor settled in England) was scripturally grounded in his views of the Perfection of the Divine Work, as it regarded the Elect, and the perfect and entire safety of those individuals who are adopted into the body of Christ, *and of the total impossibility of their ever being suffered finally to fall away ; and hence the absolute duty of entertaining the doctrine of Assurance.* On this point, that is, in showing the fulness of Christ as regards His own chosen ones, and the perfect confidence such should place in them, M. Malan worked hard to instruct my young ones. Never shall I forget his playful address to my young daughter, when next we met. ‘ Eh bien ! ma petite demoiselle, vos oiseaux de nuit se sont-ils volés ? ’ ” ¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 549.

What can we think of the condition of cock-sureness to which this doctrine leads, and to the superciliousness with which the unregenerate Worldlings are regarded, but that it is absolutely the converse of the true Christian spirit.

Revival of the Spirit of Antichrist—The Manichæan spirit, as Antichrist, has warred against Christ's Church from the beginning. It invaded the Church, invited in by Augustine and Jerome, it ran riot in Asceticism. But when the world sickened of Asceticism it changed its mask, and appeared in another form as Calvinism, not now exacting bodily torture, but still insisting on the two principles at war, the Body and the Spirit, demanding the putting away all the innocent pleasures and refinements and aspirations of the æsthetic spirit—a crushing of the intellect, as under its ascetic form it crushed the body. It is opposed to true Christianity which teaches the co-ordination in refinement and sanctification of both together.

What is the moral result of such teaching? The following is an extract from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of some thirty years ago. Matters have not improved since :

Morality in Scotland—"CALVINISTIC SCOTLAND.—Although Scotland is, as every one had heard, more pious than any other portion of the United Kingdom, there is one circumstance constantly brought to light by the Registrar-General's reports which is seldom commented upon by Scotch divines. These authorities often boast of the superior intelligence of their country men and women, but they never explain the cause of an awkward proportion between the number of legitimate and illegitimate births in their part of the country. Last year, for instance, 115,673 children were born, and of these 11,266 were illegitimate. In the north-eastern division the young women who became mothers without being wives were in the proportion of 15.2 per cent. At Kirkcudbright it was 17.3 per cent, and yet at Kirkcudbright all pious forms and ceremonies (save marriage) are rigidly observed, and a man dare not even brush his hat on Sundays. The improving influence of the Scotch example of national character is, unfortunately, diminished by the irregular increase of their population. Have the writers and divines who reprove immorality in the

darker parts of the islands nothing to say about the little failings of the ' *unco guid* ? '

In England, while one birth out of twenty-one was illegitimate in 1835, in Calvinistic Wales the proportion was generally one in fourteen ; in Pembrokeshire one in nine ; in Radnorshire one in eight.¹

We have purposely gone back from thirty to eighty years, when Calvinistic dissent was more vigorous than it is now, because education is now rendering the young more self-respecting, and immune to a large degree to the blood-and-fire preaching of their ministers ; who have had occasion to lower their tone. At a later period, however, the proportions were not very different.

In 1884, according to the Annual Detailed Report of the Registrar-General for England, Scotland, and Ireland, with regard to illegitimate births, the worst county in England for illegitimate births was Shropshire, with 80 to every thousand. In Scotland Banffshire came first with 120 in every thousand. In the Protestant parts of Ireland, in the North, they were 50 in every thousand, and in the Catholic parts of Ireland as low as 3 or 5 only in every thousand. In Ulster illegitimate births stood to those which were born in wedlock 3.4 per cent ; in Catholic Connaught 0.7 per cent. In Munster 2.4 per cent.

There does exist such a saying as that " a tree is known by its fruits."

The Case of James Cook—We will give an instance of the procedure whereby a saint is made, according to Whitefieldian doctrine. And we will take the case from the *Narrative of the Conversion of James Cook, the Murderer of Mr. Paas*, by Mrs. Lachlin, 1832.

Mr. Paas was a manufacturer of brass instruments such as are used by bookbinders. James Cook was a bookbinder in Leicester who was indebted to Paas to the extent of £25. In May the manufacturer wrote to Cook to say that he would be in Leicester on May 30, and would call on him for the amount due.

Paas accordingly arrived in Leicester on the day appointed, put up at the Stag and Pheasant inn, and went

¹ " The Population of Great Britain," in the *Quarterly Review*, 1835.

out. He was never again seen alive ; but during several days and nights an unwonted glare was noticed through the papered and curtained windows of Cook's workshop. Neighbours suspecting fire broke in and found a huge blaze and part of a human carcase roasting over the fire. James Cook had murdered Mr. Paas with a hammer, had robbed him, chopped up his body, and was engaged on its cremation. He was executed on August 10th, wearing a black coat and white ducks.

Two zealous Evangelical ladies, in defiance of the chaplain of the gaol in which Cook was confined, took on themselves the spiritual charge of the condemned criminal and succeeded in "converting" him. On Friday the wretched murderer was a blaspheming and hardened scoffer. On Monday he was "a most interesting child of God," and the lady asserted that "Christ shines in his every look and word." This is mixed up with nauseous accounts of the "sweet expression" of Cook's face, and his "interesting and handsome appearance," of a present of cambric handkerchiefs made to him by the ladies, of their anxiety to hear him sing, and of the heavenly smile that irradiated his countenance just before the drop fell. In three days these women had managed to persuade a peculiarly cold-blooded and deliberate murderer that he needed no repentance, that he need not trouble himself about Paas's children left orphans, that he need entertain no shadow of doubt that he was a Saint of God.

The same teaching of Assurance, as we have seen, had been inculcated from the first invasion of England by Calvinism. It was to combat it that *Fur prædestinatus* was written by Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

Whitefield's Hagiology—Horace Walpole, in 1768, wrote to the Rev. William Cole: "I hope the Methodist, your neighbour, does not, like his patriarch Whitefield, encourage people to forge, murder, etc., in order to have the benefit of being converted at the gallows. That arch-roogue lately preached a funeral sermon on one Gibson, hanged for forgery, and told his audience that he could assure them Gibson was now in heaven, and that another fellow, executed at the

same time, had the happiness of touching Gibson's coat as he was turned off."

As with his predecessors, so with Whitefield, his hagiology was made up of criminals.

"I have often thought," wrote Mr. James Lackington in 1791, "that great hurt has been done to Society by the Methodist preachers, both in town and country, attending condemned malefactors, as, by their fanatical conversation, visionary hymns, bold and impious applications of the Scriptures many dreadful offenders against law and justice have had their passions and imaginations so worked upon that they have been sent to the other world in such raptures as would better become martyrs innocently suffering in a glorious cause, than criminals of the first magnitude.

"A great number of narratives of these sudden conversions and triumphant exits have been compiled, many of them published and circulated with the greatest avidity to the great edification of all sinners, long habituated to a course of villainous depredations on the lives and properties of the honest part of the community; and many such as have not appeared in print have been assiduously proclaimed in the Methodist chapels and barns throughout the three kingdoms; by which notorious offenders have been encouraged to persevere, trusting, sooner or later, to be honoured with a similar degree of notice, and thus be suddenly transformed into Saints."¹

What Lackington wrote of the Methodists applied equally to the Whitefieldians.

John Thomlinson tells how a lady having persuaded a gentleman to go with her to a meeting, as they were returning home, asked him whether the minister did not pray like an angel. He replied that the performance was not at all to his taste and inquired whether she agreed with what the preacher had announced—that they had all broken the Commandments ten thousand times, in thought, word, and deed. She replied that she entirely concurred in what had been said. "Well, madam," said the gentleman, "unless you had admitted as much, I should

¹ Lackington (J.), *Memoirs*, p. 271.

never have supposed how completely you had lost your character.”¹

This exaggeration must be borne in mind in reading the memoirs of Puritan divines, accusing themselves of having committed heinous sins in their boyhood, meriting eternal fires, when probably each had not done worse than rob an orchard or bathe on a Sunday.²

The Itinerant Revivalist—After a successful *battue* the revivalist walked off, counting his converts, like Figaro his female conquests, on his finger-tips, and that sufficed. The convert had been planted on a landing from which there was neither ascent nor retrogression. But this is contrary to the law of progress imposed on all animated nature ; in that, in every stage of life, there exist intimations of further advance. In the brute beasts are instincts that are foregleams of human intelligence.

Undeveloped Faculties—In every human soul exist faculties, powers full of promise, that never come to maturity, sometimes because of inertness in the possessor, more generally because checked through prohibitive environment. The little child that gathers its handful of blue-bells, when grown to maturity, has lost the keenness of appreciation of beauty, oppressed by the drudgery of the factory or the solicitude of the shop. The young soul that aspires to God in hymn is dulled in womanhood when the duties imposed on it are the darning of the stockings of the little ones, and the patching of the husband's breeches. The gifts are there, but are in abeyance. What can be said, save in condemnation, of a theologic system which deliberately, and in principle, suppresses and distorts the majority of those heaven-implemented powers ? The folly of the Chinese in cramping and maiming the feet of girls is nothing to the crime of cramping and maiming the faculties of the soul, given by God to expand and floreate. The child, in place of having its mind expanded and its heart warmed by acquaintance with art, music, poetry, natural science, is precluded from the joys of a fairy-tale, a pantomime, beautiful pictures, and a hearty romp.

¹ *Diary of John Thomlinson*, Surtees Soc., p. 81.

² This may be noticed in the Memoirs of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta.

Soul Murder—What science is in quest of, now, is the means of killing the germs of disease; but Puritanism has set itself the task of killing the germs of life.

In Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Father and Son* we have a pathetic record of attempted soul-murder by repression, undertaken by worthy parents acting with the best possible intentions.

The Rise of Raymond—A graphic picture from life of the same process undertaken, and of the revolt from it, is drawn in Mr. Frankfort Moore's *The Rise of Raymond*. The strictness of the criminal code to which his father subjected him had made him an accomplished liar and something of a sneak as well, just as his father's interpretation of the ways of God was making him an atheist. He could not help feeling for some time past that his father's aim was to create a god in his own image and hold this erection up to his children to worship. "Certainly at the age of sixteen Raymond Monk's conception of the god of his father was that of an even stricter parent than his own, and a more vindictive. He was scarcely past his sixteenth year when he became less despondent of the world and its control, by reason of his conviction that there was no such God. He even became shocked with himself for having, during so many years of his life, tried to believe in the god of his father. For surely that was the greatest sin against the true God that anyone could commit."¹

This sin, the sin of soul-murder, was being committed through the length and breadth of the land; and not in England and Scotland only, but also in Germany and Switzerland wherever the Calvinistic cloud lowers and cuts off the light of the glorious sun and turns the landscape to the colour of lead.

Stultifying the Mind—In the strong Evangelical homes the great works of our poets, Spenser, Shakespeare—even Milton, except *Paradise Lost*—the achievements of our novelists, Scott, Jane Austen, Dickens, Thackeray, were unknown. The faculty for appreciating works of art by Raphael, Titian, Van Dyck, Hogarth, Reynolds, Holman Hunt, of our masterpieces of architecture, our glorious cathedrals was suppressed, the power to appreciate and emulate

¹ *The Rise of Raymond*, 1916.

the creations of great musicians, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Purcell, was blunted as far as possible; even Natural Science was mistrusted lest it should conflict with Revelation.

Mrs. Jellyby—Dickens has given us in *Bleak House* the portraiture of a girl, Caddy, tortured by her pious and philanthropic mother, Mrs. Jellyby, rendered stubborn, rebellious, despairing: "I wish I was dead! I wish we all were dead! It would be a great deal better for us! You used to teach girls. If you could only have taught me I could have learned from you. I am so very miserable!"

The Old Maid's Secret—In *The Old Maid's Secret* by Marlitt (Eugenie John),¹ we have also the desolate cry of an intellect repressed by persons of the same persuasion. "I was sunk in bottomless darkness. I could not believe in an ever-angry and punishing God to whom you pray—in an implacable Being who leads his children into Evil, in order then to be able to damn them. The deep desire for knowledge lay unconquered in my childish soul. If you had let me hunger it would not have been half so cruel as your unwearied efforts to crush down my mind—yea, systematically to kill it."

To return to *The Rise of Raymond*. It shows us how that to the suffering hero, who had looked upon his father as an iron, inflexible moralist, that father proved, when Raymond entered his shop—that of a cheap furniture dealer—to be unscrupulous in his business transactions. "Broadminded in matters that concerned the transference of an extra coin from the purse of a customer to his own till." This has been the experience and complaint of observers from the time of James I, and this has given rise to the saying, "Always count the change which you get from one of them."

We have quoted books of fiction picturing the struggle of the human soul against Presbyterian narrowness, cramping, stifling, two from England, the other from Germany. We might take another example from the United States of America, this time, not deadening the intellectual faculties,

¹ *Das Geheimniss d. alten Mamsell*, 1867. It had gone into its seventh edition in 1874; showing that it appealed to German experience of the system of the Pietists. There is an English translation published by Strahan and Co., 1871.

but driving the soul into revolt against revealed religion. Unhappily all who have had much experience with families reared on Calvinistic principles have met with such cases.

John Ward—*John Ward, Preacher*, by Mrs. Deland, is the story of a girl, Helen, who has been brought up by an uncle, an "Episcopalian rector" of somewhat indefinite views, who has impressed on her but one truth, reliance on the love of God. She falls in love with a Presbyterian minister, John Ward, and marries him. The result of close acquaintance with the working of his Calvinistic principles is that she loses all faith in Christianity. The narrative is too long for quotation. It is most instructive.

Result of Puritanical Soul-murder—The result of the nipping off the buds of the growing intellect so as to force to exaggerated development the religious instinct has been but exceptionally successful, and it has succeeded only with characters that are all but characterless, without individuality and power, and are malleable and ductile as putty. The ever-scolding ocean may bring down and mumble chalk, may mash and dissolve marl, but is comparatively powerless against granite and porphyry. Usually the daughters reared under this system prove tricky and false; and the sons either break all moral bounds, or cast to the winds all religious belief, sometimes assume an attitude of positive hostility to Christianity, as they had made acquaintance with it in a hateful form. On the other hand, if we consider the results of early training in sensible, pious, but not fanatical homes, where fair liberty is accorded, and breadth of mind encouraged, the sweet and healthy home-influence lasts through life and fills it with its perfume.

Abatement of the Evil—The shore is still strewn with the wreckage of broken lives, and in the deep lie foundered vessels over-ballasted with false pietism. Nevertheless, the mischief caused by fanatical soul-suppression is now largely a thing of the past. The absolute power of parents over their children is much abated; the cramping academies conducted by religious "Gradgrinds" on the narrowest principles such as those described in *Jane Eyre* and *Hard Times* are mostly done away with, through the exertion of Govern-

ment control over education ; and the young have acquired an independence of thought and of action unheard of fifty years ago. Even those who formerly were of the narrowest school have felt the emollient influence of modern liberalism.

Calvinistic Puritanism is now in its last throes, even in Scotland. Professor Crozier, who was steeped in it as a child, has witnessed the Calvinistic Theology eaten away to a hollow shell ; the Puritan Sabbaths, the belief in Predestination and Hell-fire for all eternity gone as a nightmare and a hideous dream. He has seen the marriage bond and its chastity come within a generation to be as lightly esteemed as if it were a change of garment from which we could as readily change back again if it did not suit.¹

“Going to Heaven.” Doctrine of a Future State—Another point in Puritanical teaching, whether Whitefieldian or Wesleyan is not to be demonstrated as certainly false, but to be pronounced presumably false, because of its contrariety to the Law of God as revealed in Nature. The point referred to is the sudden transfer at death of the convert into the ineffable light of the Divine Presence.

The Law of Progress—Following the same law of progress already spoken of, this cannot be. Development is not by leaps and bounds. God is not Yea, yea, and Nay, nay, one thing in Nature and another thing, and that the reverse, in Grace ; and His law as manifested to us in Nature is one of slow and steady upward advance, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear. The larva by a leisurely process passes into the imago ; never as by the touch of the wand of an enchanter is the transformation instantaneous. What is more, no force is ever lost. It may be repressed, held in restraint, but not quenched. Consequently all the potentialities of the human soul, which had no chance of exhibiting themselves during the brief span of life, when the soul passes into infinity, according to the Law of Nature, will begin to show, the faculties to expand and perfect themselves. There be simple, dull souls, devoid of all apparent spirituality, that may hereafter pass through a process of gradual awakening to the things of the spirit ; the dawn may eventually break on closed eyes, and, little

¹ Crozier (J. B.), *History of Intellectual Development*, III (1901), p. 21.

by little, they may see clearer, till with open face they can gaze upon the Sun of Righteousness.

When the soul after death does see God, judging by analogy, we may suppose that it will be overwhelmed with a sense of its short-comings, its wasted opportunities ; it will need education. It will have much to unlearn, much to cast off, much to acquire. But all this cannot be instantaneous ; and, although our Church has not dogmatized on the topic, we know enough of God's law in the Universe to be convinced that the teaching of Puritanism on the topic of " going to Heaven " is not true. It is against the teaching of Scripture and of the Church and of Nature.

It is certainly remarkable how that the two systems, that of Puritanism and that of the Church, have stamped their characteristics on the countenance ; not indeed invariably, but yet generally.

How the Two Systems impress themselves on the Countenance—Who has not observed the expression of smug self-satisfaction in the face of the " Christian," as he dubs himself, and who damns the " Worldling ? " We see in the predestined " Saint," the shifty eye, the sour look, and the censorious spirit, marked in the drooping corners of the mouth.

It is generally supposed by Protestants that among the Monastic Orders will be found much of the characteristics of the Puritans, an embittered feeling towards the world, and pervading gloom. Precisely the contrary is the case, at all events at the present day. The faces of monks and nuns are placid, irradiated with frequent smiles, with exuberant joy of heart, and a charity that overflows and shows itself in kindly expression. What Rogers said of the monks of the Great S. Bernard applies to all.

they were as gay, as free from guile,
As children ; answering, and at once, to all
The gentler impulses, to pleasure, mirth ;
Mingling, at intervals, with rational talk
Music.

The reader may remember what Sterne says of the Franciscan friar who begged of him at Calais. His " was one of those heads which Guido has often painted—mild,

pale, penetrating, free from all commonplace ideas of fat, contented, ignorance looking downwards upon the earth—it looks forwards ; but looked, as if it looked at something beyond this world.”¹ Monachism is now far other than what it was under its founders, claustral harshness, and self-torture are no more practised, or practised only among a few, and they fools. What it does now is to throw the minds of monks and nuns into the simplicity of childhood, and with that simplicity, and ignorance of evil, comes infantile light-heartedness.

In Brittany, the most Catholic district of France, spiritual faces are common. Durtal says of the peasantry : “ It is the soul which is everything in these people, and their physiognomy is moulded by it. Pure and holy brightnesses are seen in their eyes, on their lips—these portals, to the threshold of which the soul can come ; from which it looks forth and all but reveals itself.”

Some years ago the writer happened to be at a little wayside station in Brittany, waiting for the train. On the platform was a young peasant woman, plain-featured, but with a face as of one who lived in prayer—though that may have been but the recitation of the rosary—but the face of one who saw God. When the train came in the writer jumped into a carriage, and in the same compartment sat a Welsh Missionary and his wife, sent by some Calvinistic society to undermine the simple faith of the native peasantry and substitute for it Genevan “ Assuredness.” The contrast of their gross, self-righteous faces with that he had just seen was striking. The one countenance was that which had seen the glory of God in the Mount ; and the others that of those who had grovelled to the golden calf in the valley.²

¹ *Sentimental Journey*, Ed. Cooke, p. 5.

² Of the Catholic faces, Mr. Pater wrote in *Marius the Epicurean* that the beauty of Christianity was as if reflected in them. “ As if some profound correction and regeneration of the body by the Spirit had been begun and already gone a great way : the countenances of the men, women and children had a brightness upon them which he could fancy reflected upon himself, an amenity, a mystic amiability and unction.” This is due to the indwelling of Christ, making of every soul a *repositoir* of His presence, filling with joy and gladness.

VI

THE EVANGELICAL FATHERS AND THEIR PRINCIPLES

I THINK by some odd gimmers or device
Their arms are set like clocks, still to strike on ;
Else ne'er could they hold out so as they do ;
By my consent, we'll even let them alone.

1st Pt. *Henry VI*, I, 2.

TRUE Evangelicalism never absent—It must not be supposed that Evangelicalism, rightly understood, was ever unrepresented in the Churches of England and Rome. By Evangelicalism we would understand a Mysticism that lifts the soul to spiritual converse with God, and this attained specially through devotion to the Divine Redeemer.

S. Theresa and Thomas à Kempis were every whit as true Evangelicals as were Romaine and the Venns.

Mysticism—Mysticism is common to most religions, to all such as recognize a Great Father of Spirits, towards whom the soul of man turns, as the needle turns to the Pole. It exists among the Ostjaks of Siberia, whose Schamans fall into trances, among the North American Indians, as an ecstatic absorption into the Great Spirit. In Buddhism it is found among those who, by annihilation of human passions and human interests, tower into Nirvana. The neo-Platonists in decaying Classic Paganism lived in a transport of contemplation. Omar Khayyám was a Mahommedan mystic. The Yogis are the mystics of Hinduism. The original Quakers were the same in Protestantism. But the Evangelicals are to be differentiated from the mystics yearning after absorption into the vague and vaporous Spirit, for they reached after a Divine *Person*, Jesus Christ, and Him crucified, as truly as did S. Francis, when he received the *stigmata*, as Thomas à Kempis when he wrote the *Imitation* ;

as Margarett Peter of Wildisbuch, a Zwinglian, who, in a religious transport, had herself crucified, and as S. Joseph of Cupertino who, in his devout raptures, span like a teetotum. The Evangelicals did not crucify their bodies, nor on the platform of Exeter Hall revolve on the points of their toes, but they mortified and extinguished their higher nature, the sense of all that is beautiful, poetic, and artistic lodged in the soul by God to be cultivated and perfected.

There ever will be mystics in Christianity, among Catholics and Protestants alike, among all such as possess the faculty of disengaging their spirits from their bodies, and aspiring to ecstatic heights in contemplation or devotion.

Hindrances to Mysticism—There is, however, much that hinders mysticism. Modern materialism in thought and aim is fatal to it. So also is Religious Controversy. In the great period of theologic wrangling that accompanied the outbreak of the Reformation there was none of it. The still blue sea reflects Heaven and all its lights, not the billowy deep lashed by a cyclone. The minds of divines were occupied in forging weapons of war, not in the cultivation of the palm of Peace ; it is only the soul that *rests* in the Lord, to which is given its heart's desire, the contemplation of His Glory. How could these theological fighting-cocks expect to soar above the clouds, and break forth into jubilant song, when their wings were bedraggled with mire and their throats were raucous with scolding ?

There had ever been a vein of Evangelicalism, as defined above, in the Church of England, saving, perhaps during the controversial quarrels of the reign of Elizabeth. Bishops Andrews, Ken, Wilson, Archbishop Sharp, George Herbert, Nicholas Ferrar, Robert Nelson, and William Law, to name but a very few, were men of profound spirituality and devotion to the Saviour of the World ; men these were whose Evangelicalism shaped and sanctified their lives.

Dearth of Spirituality—In the early Georgian period there was no abundant evidence of Spirituality. Minds were distracted by scruples as to the duties they owed to rival dynasties, and were entangled in political controversy, drawing off attention from the inner life. This led to relaxation of the moral fibre, and a lowering of the Spiritual

pulse. But Evangelicalism was not dead, it throbbed still though feebly ; and was to be discerned mainly among the Nonjurors.

Broad-minded Evangelicals—It is well to insist as a certain fact that there were men in the Anglican Communion who were both spiritually minded and at the same time warmly attached to the Church, and who shrank from the notion of schism. These men possessed a breadth of view of which the Puritans were incapable. They could discern that although there were distortions in faith and errors in practice in the Roman Communion, that nevertheless this branch of the Universal Church held fast without wavering to the great verities of the Faith, retained, though in crippled form, the essential organization of the Church, and maintained with inflexible devotion the principles of Divine Worship. Hitherto the Puritans had focused their eyes on the blemishes, and had ignored the essentials, much as though, in looking on a man, they could see only a mole with five hairs growing out of it on his cheek, and not perceive that he possessed eyes, nose, and mouth, the essential features of a face.

Melville—We may quote the words of that great Evangelical preacher Henry Melville. “ We do not deny, and this we must state clearly before entering on the errors of Rome, that the Roman Catholic Church is a true and apostolic Church—her bishops and priests deriving their authority in an unbroken line from Christ and His apostles. Accordingly, if a Roman Catholic priest renounce what we count the errors of Popery our Church immediately receives him as one of her ministers, requiring no fresh ordination before she will allow him to officiate at her altars, though she grants not the like privilege to other claimants of the ministerial office. If his ordination be not in every sense valid neither is our own ; for if we have derived ours from the Apostles, it has been through the channel of the Roman Catholic Church ; so that to deny the transmission of authority in the Popish priesthood since the Reformation, would be to deny it before, and thus should we be left without any ordination which could be traced back to the Apostles. Hence, there is no question that, on the principles

of an Episcopal Church, the Roman Catholic is a true branch of Christ's Church, however grievously corrupted and fearfully deformed. It is a true Church, inasmuch as its ministers have been duly invested with authority to preach the Word and dispense the Sacraments; it is a true Church, moreover, inasmuch as it has never ceased to 'hold the Head, which is Christ,' and to acknowledge the fundamental truth of our religion, that Jesus, God as well as Man, died as a propitiation for the sins of the world.

"And all this was distinctly recognized by the reformers of the English Church, whatever it may have been by those of other countries. They made no alteration in the constitution of the Church; they saw in the Roman Catholic Church the true foundation and framework of a Church, but saw also that on this foundation had been laid and into this framework had been woven many gross errors which were calculated to destroy the souls of its members. And it was to the work of removing these errors that they strenuously gave themselves—not wishing to meddle with the foundation, or destroy the framework, but simply to take away those human inventions and superstitious observances beneath which genuine Christianity was almost hidden, or rather, almost buried. . . . Theirs was the work of renovating an ancient cathedral, majestic even in decay, presenting the traces of noble architecture. They did not attempt to batter down the walls, and plow up the foundations of the venerable edifice and then to erect on the site a wholly modern structure. They were better taught, and better directed."

This is speaking with the same voice as Andrewes, Laud, Beveridge, Thorndike, and Bull.

It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the early Evangelicals were heart and soul loyal to the Church of England.

Loyalty to the Church of England. C. Simeon—Abner Brown, in his *Recollections of the Conversational Parties of the Rev. C. Simeon*, says that this father of Evangelicism "was accused by some clergymen who professed to lead public opinion of 'putting the Church before Christ,'" and then mentions how Simeon approved of fasting, how

he "felt the priestly benediction was more than a prayer," how he deprecated alterations in the Prayer Book, which to him was "marrow and fatness." From first to last of his Cambridge life he was, in Brown's words, "resolutely and unceasingly anxious that all men should love and venerate the Church of England, instead of watching and spying out her faults, which were, he said, at the worst, no more than spots upon the sun's disk. He would say, 'seek not to change even what you deem faulty, for hardly any change could be effected in the Prayer Book which would not result in greater evils than those which you wish to remedy. You cannot realize the evil results to England of any material alteration in the Book of Common Prayer; no other human work is so free from faults as it is.'" This was a very different temper from that of Burnet, Wilkins, and Tillotson. Dr. Wolff also spoke emphatically of Simeon's loyalty to the Church.

Walker of Truro—Samuel Walker, of Truro, a man of most Evangelical life, devoted in his ministry, was particularly urgent on his people to attend daily prayer in the Church, and he preached on its significance, in its several parts, and its spiritual advantage. He knew and corresponded with Wesley, but he could not approve of his view of faith. "The teacher who resolves faith into feeling and makes it a justifying cause cannot reasonably wonder at defection when those baseless emotions have subsided"; and when he noticed the result in so many, "when those baseless emotions have subsided, and the little real good which was in them has passed off in the fury of enthusiastic effervescence."

Walker was strongly opposed to the separation of the Wesleyans from the Church, and vainly urged the founder against schism. "The events which took place in the days of Mr. Walker naturally lead the mind to the effects produced upon the Church by those who deviated from her discipline and pursued an opposite course, forming new bodies upon new plans, instead of recurring to the proved value of the ancient system. The immediate consequences of this indiscreet zeal were separation, and the appearance of that spirit of insubordination which invariably attends

it. Perpetual accounts of conversions were disfigured by the wildest enthusiasm, and the vain arrogance of schism. The Press also sent forth pompous announcements of new chapels opened, of ordinations, of conferences, of wonderful awakenings, which conveyed an impression that no good was doing in the land except by these new sectaries. These trumpeters of their own fame caught the public ear, but the prudent and devoted portion of the regular clergy went on working quietly and peacefully, in the hope of extending the bounds of our Zion gradually and securely, while they trembled at the wildness of the sincere but mistaken Evangelists at large, if they may be so called. Had not the vision of these excited men been dazzled by the light of their own beacons they would have seen that their very portraiture of their professed converts were mischievous caricatures. The histories they themselves gave of their adventures were absolutely satires upon their proceedings.”¹

What Walker perceived clearly was the intolerable self-righteousness of the converts, who despised and set apart all such as had not passed through the same experiences as themselves, labelling such as worldlings not to be associated with, and as outcasts from salvation.

On Lay Preachers—Walker was strongly opposed to the practice of Fletcher of Madeley, of Berridge, and Grimshaw, as well as other clergy, of inviting lay preachers to address their parishioners, lending them for the purpose their kitchens, stables, churchyards. “Whatever the effects may have been in awakening some who were unconcerned about their souls, the labours of these persons have been a great hindrance to the spread of sound vital principles and to the prevalence of Christian unity. To say that the lay preachers failed to reclaim any from vice would be unjust, but it is certain that they mingled with the seeds of truth those of misrule and confusion. Look at the body of men in the present day calling themselves Primitive Methodists or Ranters. They have spread widely over many parts of the Kingdom, professing to revive the visible emotions and sensible feelings of the early days of Wesley; and though

¹ Sidney (E.), *The Life and Ministry of S. Walker*, 1838, p. 244.

they unquestionably have been the means of alarming many profligate persons among the lower orders they disfigure their worship with absurdities almost inconceivable. They have Camp meetings and Creeping meetings, and they indulge in roarings, bellowings, swoons, fits, accompanied with gestures and language that would be infinitely ridiculous were their buffoonery less profane. A description of their wild proceedings, the violence of their male preachers, and the frantic harangues of their women, would hardly be believed by the refined and educated classes of society, but it would not be easy to exaggerate in drawing the disgusting picture."¹

Walker began his ministrations at Truro in 1746, and died in 1761.

Cecil—Richard Cecil, another excellent Evangelical, wrote: "I never choose to forget that I am a priest, because I would not deprive myself of the right to dictate in my ministerial capacity. I cannot allow a man, therefore, to come to me merely as a friend on his spiritual affairs, because I should have no authority to say to him, 'Sir, you must not do so and so.' I cannot suffer my best friends to dictate to me anything which concerns my ministerial duties. I have often had to encounter this spirit, and there would be no end of it if I did not check and resist it."

Cecil was the son of a wealthy London dyer. He became rector of two Lewes churches in 1777 and a popular London preacher from 1780 to 1800. He took the vicarage of Chobham, in Surrey, in 1800 and died in 1810. His commendation of what was afterwards called the *Via Media* must have startled some of his Evangelical friends. "The middle path," he said, "is generally the wise path, but there are few wise enough to find it."

Deviation from First Principle—Unhappily, in course of time the Evangelicals were drawn away from their first principles, deserted their original standpoint, and this was due to two causes:—

(1) Alarm at the programme of the Oxford party, which, as they supposed, led direct to Rome, whereas, what it aimed at was the resuscitation of certain principles of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

faith and of practice that had fallen into neglect during the Hanoverian epoch of deadness.

(2) Attraction exercised by the manifest and enormous successes of Whitefield and Wesley. The Evangelicals had never held views of the Church such as could resist the fascination of these successes ; and the party had harboured more or less vaguely the views of Luther or Calvin along with genuine first principles that were sound as far as they went. It was accordingly unable to resist the force that sucked them into the maelstrom of the Whitefieldian, and, in a smaller measure, of the Wesleyan current. Unfortunately its leading divines were void of divinity, men amiable, impulsive, earnest, not above the average intellectually, and consequently incapable of resisting the suction that was drawing them into the Genevan charybdis. Straws, leaves, are caught and carried into the gulf, whereas a solid baulk is slowly moved, and an anchored boat not at all.

The Secret of Evangelical Success—But if by force of genius and mental powers these good men were incapable of producing a reaction against the vice and frivolity of the age, their example, the earnestness of their faith, their transparent sincerity, and the determined battle they waged against prevalent vice, produced a mighty effect, for which we must look back on them with gratitude. Indeed, their influence in transforming the tone of society was really miraculous, as we shall see shortly.

The Weight behind Evangelicalism—It was the saying of the Apostle verified once more : “ God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise ; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty.”

There existed, however unnoticed, disregarded, a widespread yet deep-rooted impatience among sober people at the prevalent vice that flaunted itself so openly and so shamelessly. It needed only a few earnest and fearless men to make head against it, to rally to their aid all the decent and wholesome-minded in England. The vast mass of respectable, right-thinking folk was timorous and dispersed, and lacked leaders. But no sooner did the Evangelicals make their voices heard, and show themselves regardless

of the flouts and sneers of the wicked and the worldly, than this incoherent body of well-meaning humanity rallied about them, and lent to them a force and weight they themselves did not possess.

General Failure to Renovate Society—The Essayists had advocated Virtue and deprecated Vice in the abstract, but such moralizing had glanced off the persons whom they addressed. 'The Latitudinarians had folded one hand over the other and reversed the folding, smiling benevolently on the evildoers, saying: "Children, cultivate Virtue, there is Money in it!" and gave but little principle of higher value by which to govern conduct.

The old-fashioned High-Churchmen were desirous enough of stemming the flood of evil, but were dazed at the magnitude and the prevalence of Vice, and knew not whither to turn for material wherewith to dam or divert the current. They looked to legislation, to ecclesiastical censures, to everything save the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had triumphed in the ancient world, and if used again and used aright would have the same effect once more. Unhappily they left this to be utilized by such as mixed their own untempered mortar with the Words of Truth.

There sprang up along with these first fathers of the Evangelical school, or shortly after, a considerable number of excitable and impetuous men, who were impatient of the restraints of the Prayer Book, and who desired to break down all barriers between the Church and Dissent, intoxicated as they were with the new scheme of Salvation they had adopted, based on the Atonement, and who wholeheartedly adopted the Protestant doctrine of Unconditioned dealings of God with man, such as had not been advocated by the first Evangelicals.

Condition of Society. Who combated its Evils?—Latitudinarianism had killed Antinomian Calvinism. It had given sound practical advice, but nothing spiritual in its place, and irreligion and wickedness in high places had become fashionable, and was practised shamelessly. The frivolity and coarseness of the Upper Classes would be incredible did we not possess indisputable revelations of their existence in the Memoirs and Letters of the period. It is doubtful,

it is more than doubtful, whether the Oxford movement could have so revolutionized social life as did the Evangelical. The Tractarians appealed to the cultured, to the intellectual, but not, at first, to the thoughtless and to the vulgar. But the Evangelicals, sword in hand, smiting right and left, hit the prevailing crimes and frivolities of the day, by whomsoever committed, and drove them back. They condemned not merely and not generally gambling, balls, theatres, and many harmless amusements—they even frowned on cricket—but, abandoning generalities, they smote individuals, the gambler, the dancer, the drunkard, the play-goer, the frivolous ; this was due to excessive and exaggerated zeal, and lacked discretion, but, we may well ask, would they have accomplished its purpose had it been less personal in their mode of attack ?

Good, sincere, but unscholarly men as these Evangelicals were, they achieved a great success, and we, in this our day—we, in all classes of Society, are profiting by what they did.

The Weak confound the Strong—The Romans for centuries had found a chief entertainment in gladiatorial displays in the amphitheatres. Christian preachers and writers had lifted up their voices and exercised their pens in the name of humanity, but had not been listened to. S. Augustine himself tells us of the horrible joy which he, in his youth, had seen come over the vast ring of flushed faces at these sanguinary sights. The weak emperor Honorius bethought himself in 404 A.D. of celebrating the Secular Games by an exhibition of gladiators. But, in the midst of that show, down sprang into the arena of the Colosseum of Rome the monk Telemachus, and with his own hands parted the combatants, in the name of Christ. The mob, baulked for a moment of their pleasure, leaped the barriers, rushed upon him, and stoned him to death. Thenceforth this crime was followed by a sudden revulsion of feeling, and by an edict of the Emperor the gladiatorial combats were forbidden for ever.

Telemachus, doubtless, was an exceedingly ignorant man, dull of brain and unable to spell correctly, yet he achieved what cultured saints had failed to accomplish. And now

the Evangelical fathers, with all their faults and poverty of intellect, by their sincerity and vehement piety, transformed to a large extent the character of society. Pelted they were with hard words, but happily with nothing worse ; on the contrary the movement was eventually killed by its being overwhelmed with honours and preferments.

The coarseness, the callousness of the age is almost beyond conception. To drink, to gamble, to curse, and blaspheme, to lead poor girls astray, were the marks of a fine gentleman. We have but to read the memoirs and letters of those who lived in the Hanoverian age to see how rotten to the core high society was.

We might load our pages with instances.

George IV—No doubt the worst of a bad breed clung to town. When they condescended to visit their country seats it was to contaminate all in their neighbourhood. In the classes below that of the country gentry it was much the same, there were Tony Lumpkins enough. But to put the crown upon the whole subject we must point to George, Prince of Wales, Prince Regent, and finally King, before whom Charles II and Louis XIV pale to comparative decency. A more disgusting narrative of Royal depravity than that recorded by Robert Huish in his *Memoirs of George IV* is hard to conceive. And this man was set up as a model by which to shape their lives before the gentlemen of England. One instance, and that alone, need be quoted to paint this mirror of gentility. One of his touts, John McMahon, wrote to him from Bath that he had discovered a poor country curate living near Marlborough, who had two lovely daughters, and acting on his advice the Prince offered a vicarage near town, that was in the gift of the Crown, to lure the simple parson up to London, along with his daughters, that they might fall a prey to his teeth. And this succeeded.

And Charles Richard Sumner—Perhaps as sickening a chapter as any in the life of this finest gentleman in Europe is that when he fell under the influence of the Marchioness of Conynghame, as did Edward III under that of Agnes Perrier. She introduced to the palace her protégé Charles Richard Sumner (who had, at her instigation, been made

Bishop of Chester) that he might minister to King George in holy things. We know from the pen of his brother—and both thought alike—that he regarded the obligation of the Moral Law as abolished, and replaced by that of Free Grace, “to be received, not gained, freely conferred, not wrought out by repentance and obedience.”

The Debts of the Duke of York Unpaid—On the death of the Duke of York in 1827 it was found that through his gambling propensities he had contracted heavy debts, not one farthing of which had been paid, to the ruin of many an industrious tradesman. “When we come to consider the enormous wealth with which the ‘Lady Steward’ retired from her Royal habitation, and the extent of the bequests which followed the demise of the Sovereign, we cannot but consider it a serious imputation upon the character of his late Majesty that before he lavished his hundreds of thousands upon his marchioness he did not come conscientiously forward and by the payment of the debts of his deceased brother, remove that deep stigma upon royalty which the conduct of that illustrious individual had brought upon it. One quarter of the treasure thrown into the lap of the marchioness would have satisfied the immediate exigencies of the more pressing creditors of the Royal Duke.”¹

So much for the “First Gentleman in Europe,” the glass before which our nobility and *jeunesse dorée* were to dress themselves!

“He is dead but thirty years,” wrote Thackeray in 1860, “and one asks how a great society could have tolerated him? Would we bear him now? In this quarter of a century what a silent revolution has been working! How it has separated us from old times and manners! How it has changed men themselves!”

And *who* have wrought this revolution? Who have separated us from these old foul manners? Who have changed men themselves?—the Evangelical Fathers of the better sort.

Influence of the Evangelicals—When Society was in the condition just painted, the Evangelical clergy, men destitute

¹ *Memoirs of George IV*, 1831, II, p. 373.

of high culture, devoid of natural gifts, save voluble speech—these men by their sincerity, pertinacity, and courage drove Society from the effrontery of vice, shamed it into decency of speech and behaviour, a work all the brains of Oriel could not have achieved. Wesley could not have accomplished it, for his appeal was only to the ignorant and uncivilized. Whitefield, though he captured the Countess of Huntingdon, could not have done it, for he influenced but a narrow circle of those in high places, mostly ladies, and they such as had withered charms and tottering gait. But the work was done by the Evangelical clergy of the Church of England.

The Evangelicals and the Prayer Book—We have seen how that the Evangelicals, so far as concerned the main body, valued the Prayer Book, but this appreciation was due to a conservative instinct and not to any realization as to what the Prayer Book meant and was designed to enforce. They had been accustomed to its use, and they were as reluctant to have it altered or laid aside as most men are to part with an old coat. What they did not like in it they interpreted in a non-natural manner to suit their prejudices, and accommodate the phraseology to their ignorance. Those who wear, and have worn habitually since infancy, yellow-glass spectacles, see all things with a false glare. The very sky bears a jaundiced aspect.

Mr. W. E. Gladstone was brought up in strong Evangelical principles, surrounded as he was by Presbyterian relatives; yet it was the study of the Prayer Book that brought him to understand what the Church is. He wrote how that in 1832, "One Sunday (May 13) something, I know not what, set me on examining the Occasional Offices of the Church in the Prayer Book," and how that, nurtured until then in Evangelical pietism, he received from this study his "first introduction to the august conception of the Church of Christ. It presented to me Christianity under an aspect in which I had not yet known its ministry of symbols, its channels of grace, its unending line of teachers joining from the Head—a sublime construction, based throughout upon historic facts, uplifting the idea of the Continuity in which we live and of the access which it

enjoys through the new and living way to the presence of the Most High. From this time I began to feel my way by degrees into and towards a true notion of the Church.”¹

In a word, on 13 May, 1832, W. E. Gladstone took the yellow spectacles off his nose and no longer saw either the Scriptures or the Book of Common Prayer in an orange light.

The Churchmanship of the Evangelicals ■ Sentiment, not a Principle—The Churchmanship of these well-intentioned men was sentimental rather than due to principle. The Church was in their Creed no vital article of faith. As to any notion that the Catholic Church was the divinely instituted and organized Kingdom of Jesus Christ in the world, no such notion entered their heads. To use the words of a chronicler of the party: “It was not a part of their religion; it was only an addition or appendage to it. . . . To the Low Churchman the ordinances and appointments of the Church were but the dry posts to which he, as a young and green fruit-tree, was unavoidably fastened, and by which he imagined that his spiritual growth would, more likely than not, be hindered, as, no doubt, his wilfulness and party spirit were.”² But Proby was the *Todtenvogel*, the Death raven sitting on the roof and croaking where beneath lay a party in its death-throes.

A New Phase of Protestantism—With the rise of Evangelicalism the Reformation assumed a totally new phase. The party had been heralded in England by such men as Henry More, in Prussia by Spenner; in England this new phase was to grow and burst into flower in the Evangelical movement, but in Germany pietism was doomed to extinction.

The Reformation an Intellectual Movement—Protestantism in England and abroad, except for a flicker here and there, had been an intellectual not a spiritual movement. It had manifested itself, not in fervour towards God and charity towards men, but in an explosion of just resentment against the frauds and puerilities of Medieval Catholicism. It took a double direction, one destructive, the other

¹ Morley (J.), *Life of Gladstone*, 1903, I, p. 87.

² Proby (W. H. R.), *Annals of the Low Church Party*, 1888, I, pp. 148-9.

substitutive. It cleared away abuses in practice and errors in doctrine. But it had been so reckless in its fury that it had swept away much sound Apostolic doctrine and, everywhere save in England, Apostolic worship. It did, indeed, retain the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds, formally ; but practically it replaced them by elaborate Confessions, Procrustean beds upon which the adherents of the several reformers were required to stretch their faith till, in many cases, the ligatures snapped and all faith was cast down, a dislocated and inanimate lump ; or else was distorted out of the shape in which Christianity had left the Founder's hands.

The Evangelical Movement Emotional—But now, with the Evangelical movement, Protestantism in England entered on another career. Intellectual it can hardly be called, except so far as that it accepted the intellectual achievements of Calvin and Luther ; but it was emotional.

The Evangelical was conscious of love to God and zeal for souls ; but he had no conception of doing the work of the Spirit in any other way than that which commended itself to his own opinion, which he regarded as an inspiration of the Divine Breath. He accepted the Calvinistic Creed, that is to say, as much of it as he could understand, but he laid hold with particular tenacity on the dogma of the Atonement as shaped by theologians, and which he exalted into the position of *the* supreme Truth of the Gospel with disregard to the moral, reasonable, and theological difficulties which it provoked, and which he could not, or would not, see.

The Advantage of Uniqueness in its Presentation of Christianity—An immense advantage is secured by any religion or religious movement that is *simple* in its doctrine. Men ask to have their religion presented to them in a concentrated extract, a tabloid. The Evangelicals enjoyed this advantage. John the Baptist preached on a single topic, "Repent ye : for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," and there went out to him Jerusalem and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan. Mohammed condensed his doctrine into one sentence, "Allah is great, and Mohammed is his prophet," and conquered Arabia, Northern Africa, and a portion of Asia. Peter the Hermit had but a single cry

that he uttered before thousands, "Rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the defiling hands of the Moslems," and he swept multitudes after him to perish miserably in Asia Minor. Luther had but one doctrine, that formed the basis of his harangues and of his writings, Free Justification, and he ripped whole portions of Germany and all Scandinavia from the unity of the Church. Wesley had but a single theme to enforce, Sensible, Instantaneous Conversion, and he formed a sect outside the Church that numbers millions and is extended to all quarters of the globe.

The generality of men, and almost all women, are capable of entertaining seriously and pursuing vehemently a single idea alone. They are not like most birds that can fill their nest and sit on six or eight eggs at once. They lay but one, and on that one concentrate all their attention, build on it all their hopes, and expend on it all the heat of their bosoms. So now, the Evangelical clergy possessed the same advantage, or drawback, take it which way you will. They entertained but one idea, whether it were true or false, mattered little for its success, it was unique, and as such could command their concentrated energies.

Account of the Evangelical Theological System—As we have introduced the account of John Wesley with a summary of his doctrine, and that of Whitefield with a statement of the Five Calvinian Articles on which he insisted and out of which he built his fame and established his success, so now, before proceeding any further with the Evangelical Movement in the Church of England, it behoves us to give an account of the doctrine of the Atonement, which formed, not the keystone, but the entire arch of the theology of the party. The forbearance of the reader is asked if this is done at some length. It is necessary that this dogma should be clearly stated and fully grasped in order to estimate at once the strength and the weakness of the party; to account for its sudden success and for its almost as rapid collapse.

Sin—Sin is either the deliberate deflection of the Free Will from the road to happiness set before man according to the purpose of God or else it is due to a sudden and inconsiderate explosion of passion. It is either deliberate

in its revolt or else is due to lack of self-control in man governing his acts, or, again, it may be due to ignorance.¹

The Effects—The effects or consequences of an act of rebellion against God, either by malice prepense or through defect in self-control, are twofold.

(1) Inasmuch as it is a treading out of the way of health and happiness, it entails on the transgressor pain and other evils, social, political, moral as well as physical. An overnight debauch produces headache in the morning.

(2) In the next place it excludes from the favour of God. It is *self-inflicted* outlawry.

Conditions of Restoration : What they are—Repatriation out of Outlawry is granted conditionally ; so is Restoration to health. In Christianity everything is *Conditional*.

The conditions are Repentance, not remorse because of the consequences, but Repentance through sincere regret that we have fallen out of favour with God and a sincere desire for restoration ; and equally sincere resolve to remain for the future in His favour. It is a Free-will return. On these conditions, and on these alone, is rehabilitation accorded : man's guilt is blotted out. But he is not exempted from the first consequence—none can make undone an accomplished fact, but the mischief done may be arrested, it may even be repaired.

Such is the System of Restoration. It is precisely identical with the procedure of a father with a rebellious child. The child must become conscious that it has lost its parent's favour, it must regret this, it must desire restoration ; then it must arise and go to the father, fling itself into his arms, sob out its contrition, and entreat forgiveness. That forgiveness is accorded to it *conditionally* on its promise to remain dutiful for the future.

The divine scheme of pardon and restoration is comprehensible by every one. It is no intricate system ; and it has its exemplification in daily life.

Free Will—Who has not felt the struggle in his own heart

¹ Thus S. Paul, Rom. vii, 7, "I had not known sin but by the law." An act only becomes sinful when it is a conscious transgression.

between self-will impelling to some course of action which he knows to be wrong and Conscience urging him to resistance ?

What mother who has a wayward child has not seen the battle pictured in the little face ? When the mouth pouts, the eye is sullen, and the brow clouded, she says : " My dear, the Black Dog is on your back ! " For awhile irresolution manifests itself in the quivering lips, the chequered lights in the eye, the changing flushes in the cheek. Presently the dull eyes look up furtively yet questioningly and see the overflowing love in those of the parent. At once tears well up, the recently defiant lips yield to a faint smile, sunshine breaks out, the cloud is lifted from the brow ; the battle is over. The reconciliation is complete. *That reconciliation is due to submission of the Will in answer to the appeal of love.*

Let us take an opposite instance, from Plato, who well knew the double tendencies in man. He illustrated this by the story of Leontius, the son of Aglaion, who, in returning from the Pyræum, observed some dead bodies lying in the sewer outside the North Wall. He arrested his steps. His curiosity impelled him to examine the corpses. His better spirit bade him not diverge from his course to inspect what was as disgusting to the eyes as offensive to the nostrils—to hover about a carcase becomes a blow-fly but not a sane man. However, inquisitiveness got the better of him and, " being overcome by his appetite, with eager eyes, running towards the dead bodies, ' Lo, now ! ' said he, ' you wretched eyes, glut yourselves with this fine spectacle.' " ¹

It is so with men. The blow-fly is at them, they are sensible of an attraction towards what is foul, unwholesome, corrupt, and which the better nature in them bids them shun. Hence a battle.

If Leontius wilfully choseth to glut his eyes and snuff about corruption in a sewer, he cannot be forcibly removed. He is master of his own conduct ; he is no slave. He must withdraw by an act of his free will, and the will will be acted upon either by fear of the consequences or by his reason that invites him to feast his eyes on that which is comely,

¹ *The Republic*, lib. iv.

living, and healthy, and not on decay ; to inhale the fresh air from the sea ; and not the feter of rottenness.

Co-operation—As we have already seen, God, Who cannot force man into righteousness, had sought to lead him to control his blow-fly propensities by fear and by reason, and neither motive proved effectual. Now His appeal is through Love ; and His Love was made manifest through the Incarnation and the Passion.

Let the contrasted systems of Restoration be put plainly before the reader :—

The Catholic system of Man's Restoration to newness of Life depends on his possession of Free Will.

The Calvinistic and Lutheran systems of Man's Restoration depend on the denial of Free Will.

According to the Catholic system Man's Will co-operates with Divine Help in effecting his restoration.

According to the contrary system Divine Grace is a Force, all-effectual, and no co-operation is possible by the human will, as that will is not free.

The Motive—We have seen that, given to man Free Will and granted also that man has wandered out of the way to Eternal Blessedness in which he was placed by his Creator ; granted also that he becomes conscious that he is in error, some *motive* must be present to induce him freely to regret his error, to confess it, and to seek restoration to the lost path.

Repentance, as we have pointed out, is the condition for pardon and restoration. Man must admit, " We have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep," and must, secondly, desire to return ; and in the third place must be enabled to return.¹ The divagation was spontaneous and the return must be spontaneous. But the will must be acted upon to wish and to take action.

Love—Here it is that the Incarnation and the Passion take their place in the Economy of Grace as supplying the requisite motive. They give evidence to man of the Love

¹ Ovid in his first Pontic Epistle (to Brutus) gives a good account of guilt and of restitution through repentance ; though he seeks this restoration to Rome from Augustus. He seeks it through contrition, confession, and promise of amendment. The heathen saw the way better than do certain Protestants.

of God making appeal to him. "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." "The Father hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace." "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He loved us, and sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins." S. John provided the key to all these problems when he said, "God is love."

The Incarnation and the Death upon the Cross are, accordingly, the supreme appeal to the heart of man—this being the revelation to him of the Love of God—to draw him to repentance and amendment of life. It is the *Motive* inspiring restoration.

That which stands out sharply, so that every man who runs may read, is this : He who transgresses God's law must undergo the temporal consequences. He who thrusts out his eyes must remain blind. He who treads on stinging nettles must be stung. He who wilfully rebels against God is self-excluded from God's favour. Divine Justice holds him accountable for his rebellion, and although the Heavenly Father maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust, He nevertheless holds those men aloof from Him and withholds from them His forgiveness. But, so soon as ever man's will bends and turns back to allegiance and duty, though he may be yet a great way off, his Father will see him, run and kiss him, and slay for him the fatted calf. Mercy will surround him on every side.

Such would seem to be the true doctrine of Sin and Reconciliation.

The Atonement : what it is not—But this is not the Evangelical's doctrine of the Atonement, which is as follows :—

The Almighty is represented by him as a wrathful God, hating iniquity, and hating as well the evil-doer ; as just, demanding capital punishment of every one who has violated His law. And His wrath is represented as placated by nothing short of the death of Christ. This doctrine is plainly laid down by Dr. Priestley in his *History of the*

Corruptions of Christianity: "This view is connected with the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, because it is said that Sin, as an offence against an Infinite God, requires an infinite Satisfaction, which can only be made by an infinite person, that is, One who is no less than God Himself. Christ therefore, in order to make the infinite satisfaction for the sins of men, must Himself be God, equal to the Father. The Justice of God being now fully satisfied by the death of Christ the sinner is acquitted. Moreover, as the sins of men have been thus imputed to Christ, His righteousness is, on the other hand, imputed to them, and thus they are accepted of God, not on account of what they have done themselves, but for what Christ has done for them."

"Divines held," says Mr. Heard, "that God was an angry God, the avenger of blood, in hot pursuit of His victim, whose wrath could only be slaked and diverted from man by the satisfaction of His Son's death. Abraham, stretching forth his hand to slay his son, was long considered as the true symbol of the Eternal Father exhausting His infinite anger against sin by the infinite merit and worth of the voluntary substitution of His own Son. In this sense the Incarnation was represented as giving worth to the Atonement; and, indeed, Anselm, in his *Cur Deus Homo*, taught that the purpose of the Incarnation was to lead to the Atonement. The end is always of more importance than the means: hence, with perfect consistency, all theology after Anselm laid stress on the purpose of the Incarnation only as giving dignity and worth to the Atonement."¹

The old conception of punishment was Vindictive Revenge, and the more horrible the tortures inflicted the greater satisfaction was afforded to the avengers. When Henry VIII had a poor cook slowly boiled to death on suspicion of poisoning, he chuckled to think that the man was enduring intolerable tortures.

But such a notion as that of enhancing pain to the utmost to satisfy revenge, however well founded that resentment may be, is totally exploded in these days. None save

¹ Heard (J. B.), *Old and New Theology*, 1885, pp. 161-2.

Chinese executioners, as hired by Bolsheviks, deliberately protract the agonies of the condemned through days and nights, by ingenious contrivances, till the victim's nervous sensibility is wrecked. Yet according to Evangelical doctrine the Almighty is represented as an inimitable, insatiable, Chinese scientific tormentor; and with the additional satisfaction that the nervous agony does not terminate in two or three days, but lasts throughout Eternity.

An able theologian wrote recently :—

“ Punishment, as now inflicted by our laws, may either be remedial or deterrent, or, both; but it is never simply vindictive. The only satisfaction an offender can make to the outraged majesty of the law is repentance and amendment. Thus a theological system which depends entirely on the purely vindictive theory of punishment is instinctively felt by most minds in our age to rest on an entirely false basis, and must inevitably be, in the end, rejected by a society which has rejected the principle on which it is founded.”

Result : Denial of the Love of God—The doctrine of the Atonement as formulated by the Evangelicals brought with it a practical denial of the Love of God, of His Fatherly tenderness for the world; and that in the rigour of His Justice He is converted into a veritable Moloch, insatiable in His lust for blood and fire.

Vicarious Sacrifice : How formulated—Nigh on three centuries ago John Owen, the noted Puritan divine, laid down this proposition relative to the death of Christ : “ He made satisfaction by undergoing that punishment which, by reason of the obligation that was upon those for whom He made satisfaction, they themselves were bound to undergo.”¹ That is to say He suffered vicariously, yet for the sake of the Elect alone.

A century later Jonathan Edwards, the great American Calvinist theologian, restated the same doctrine. “ By Christ's death,” he wrote, “ was finished all that was required in order to satisfy the threatenings of the Law, and all that was necessary to satisfy Divine Justice; then,

¹ *Collected Works*, V, p. 366. Owen's works are in eight volumes.

the utmost that *Vindictive Justice* demanded, even the whole debt was paid."

The Idea of a wrathful God Who must be placated with Sacrifice—Extremes meet. On 4 May, 1897, a fancy bazaar in Paris was held for a charity. The flimsy drapery caught fire, and speedily the entire fabric and its contents were in flames. In that conflagration, beside many civilian ladies, some of the élite of the *noblesse* perished. On the Sunday following a preacher at the Madeleine declaiming on the catastrophe declared that it occurred on account of the sins of Paris, for which God, as an inexorable Judge, demanded an expiatory holocaust.

The Conception of Jehovah as formed by the Evangelicals—The conception of the Almighty as Vindictive Justice inevitably invested Him with the attributes of Wrath and Cruelty, in other words, He was figured before the mind as Baal Zebub. In one of Dr. Watts' hymns, in which he describes the throne of Jehovah, he said :—

Once 'twas a seat of dreadful wrath,
And shot devouring flame;
Our God appear'd consuming fire,
And Vengeance was His name.

Rich were the drops of Jesus' blood,
That calm'd His frowning face,
That sprinkled o'er the burning throne,
And turn'd His Wrath to Grace.

In another hymn Dr. Watts repeated the same thought :—

Well ! The Redeemer's gone
To appear before our God !
To sprinkle o'er the flaming throne
With His atoning blood.

This is sheer Manichæism. The Oriental conception was that of a dualism. There were two Gods, one all Wrath and Vengeance and the other all Mercy and Forgiveness. Eastern Manichæism assumed the form of Gnosticism in its contests with the Christian Church. Practically the Evangelical scheme was a revival of Gnosticism. Jehovah is the God of Vengeance and Severity, Christ Jesus the God of Pardon and discharge of obligations. It did not formally announce a duality, and in that duality an opposi-

tion of principles, but practically it accepted the Gnostic or Manichæan platform.

An Infiltration of Eastern Dualism—The infiltration of Oriental dualism into the Christian Church sorely afflicted Latin Christianity. It penetrated as well among the Eremites of Syria and Egypt, it entered the Celtic Church, in which we find S. Findchua hanging himself on two sickles, his entire weight resting on their points that entered his arm-pits, so as to propitiate the Heavenly King.

The sole difference between Jonathan Edwards and the preacher at the Madeleine consists in this, that the former regarded the expiatory sacrifice as accomplished by One, whereas the other envisaged it as distributed between Christ and the Members of His body. Each conceived the same idea of the Eternal Father as a ruthless Deity panting for torture, fire, and blood.

The Idea of Vicarious Sacrifice involves Difficulties—The doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice, the Substitution of the Guiltless for the Guilty was not one eminently satisfactory ; for it brought up the question whether the Almighty was *just* as well as unpaternal. Was it according to Justice that the innocent should suffer in the place of the guilty ? It does so occur often in life. But when this is the case, it is usually due to human ignorance and error. Edward VI, when Prince of Wales, had a Whipping-boy ; and when the Prince himself did wrong the substitute was chastised in his room. Was this reasonable and just ?

Time out of mind men have been accused of a crime they had not committed, and have been hung, drawn, and quartered, whereas those actually guilty have gone scot free. Was this other than a miscarriage of justice ?

John Smith is hung for sheep-stealing, a crime of which he is wholly innocent, and Abel Brown, the real culprit who has killed and eaten the sheep, escapes unpunished. It would be bad enough were this a miscarriage of justice through ignorance, but when it is a case of the judge knowingly executing Smith and discharging Brown, what are we to think of it ?¹

¹ "What justice is there in delivering up to death a Man of all men most just, in place of a sinner ? What man would not be judged worthy

A limited Concession—Let us suppose that the Almighty had consented to the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ, then we next ask : Was this remission of the penalty of sin to profit the entire human race, or was it to be conceded to a very few ?

With one voice all Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Puritans of the old school, and Evangelicals of the new, answer now, and have answered in the past, that the privilege is confined to the Elect alone, and to them on one sole condition, that they possess a Saving Faith. But that Saving Faith is itself a Free, unconditioned Gift. Simultaneously it is asserted that the Almighty had withdrawn from the vast majority of mankind, in all ages, and withdraws still, the possibility of fulfilling this condition.

Again we ask, is this just ?

What schoolboy does not despise alike the master who has his favourites, and the favoured "pets" ? What respect does a statesman acquire who thrusts his kinsmen into lucrative sinecures ? How does history deal with Clement VII, who in 1534 gave to his cousin Hypolite di Medici all the benefices which should fall vacant during six months ; with Sixtus IV who conferred on his nephew, but supposed son, Pedro Rivario, when scarce out of the hobbledohoy age, the Cardinal Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Archbishopric of Florence, and an income of £100,000 a year ; and to another nephew, a boat boy, he gave a dukedom ; with Alexander VI (Borgia) who lavished the estates of the Church on his sons, creating them princes and dukes ? What does history state relative to the Emperors Claudius, Nero, Domitian, who loaded their sycophant eunuchs with wealth ?

In the estimation of the Evangelicals the Almighty is made of the same stuff as these unworthies.

Atonement Appropriated by Faith—The advantages of the Atonement, according to Evangelical doctrine, are appropriated by man solely through Faith, and this Faith is not such as believes all the articles of the Christian Creed, and reposes hopefully on God's Love, but is of personal of condemnation if he were to condemn an innocent man, in order that he might set a guilty one free ?" *Anselm, Cur Deus Homo, c. 8.* This is what Boso says, and Anselm makes a lame answer.

application. No matter what else a Christian believes, so long as he is convinced that the Redemption wrought on the Cross applies individually to himself.

Denial to all but the Faithful—None in time past or present or future, who have not, or have not had, this Saving Faith; no heathen man, no Jew, no Turk, no Christian, baptized, a communicant, a thorough believer, leading a godly innocent life, unless he have this Personal Conviction, which is imparted not acquired, can expect other fate than the blackness of darkness for ever; even though he had been born before the time of Christ, or lived where the Gospel had not been preached or was a Papist.

Solon, the wise law-giver, Aristides the Just, Socrates and Plato, seekers after God, Virgil, notwithstanding his prophecy of the Incarnation, Marcus Aurelius, the self-communing Emperor; Pliny, the humane Governor—all must be cast into Hell, there to writhe and shriek in agony throughout Eternity. No extenuating plea to be listened to, no mitigation of torment to be allowed, because, though they had done the best they could, they had not done the impossible, which was not set before them as a task optionally to be accomplished.

Let us look at this a little closer.

The Heathen living good lives excluded—We are led to picture the heathen world as given over to unbridled lust and cruelty; but, although there existed in it abundance of evil, there was present in it as well a salt of good. Does the reader recall the letter of the younger Pliny, concerning that very naughty old lady, Numidia Quadratilla, who lived almost to her eightieth year. With her resided her grandson, who, “though he is extremely beautiful, escaped every malicious imputation both whilst a boy and when a youth. He dwelt in the family with his grandmother, who was exceedingly devoted to the pleasures of the town, yet he observed great severity of conduct himself, at the same time that he behaved to her with the utmost respect. She retained a set of pantomimes and was an encourager of this kind of people, to a degree inconsistent with a person of her sex and rank. But Quadratus never appeared at these entertainments, not only when she exhibited them in

the theatre, but even in her own house. I once heard her say that whenever she engaged in these amusements she was wont to dismiss her grandson to his studies ; a dismissal which proceeded, I am inclined to think, as much out of a certain reverential awe she felt upon these occasions in the presence of the youth, as from her affection towards him."¹

Would it be in accordance with Sovereign Justice that Quadratus' should writhe throughout eternity in flame along with his wicked grandmother ? Is no distinction to be made hereafter between the excellent women whose virtuous and modest lives Pliny commends, and the Messalinas, Fulvias, and Poppaeas ? Surely the natural, healthy conscience revolts against such doctrine as that a man is damned eternally because he has never been given the opportunity to believe. Who denied him that opportunity ? And shall not the Judge of all the earth do right ?

And Christian—Not only so, but such Christians as had not been sent to an Evangelical Sunday school, had not been fed up on, and relished, the Religious Tract Society leaflets, had not been roused to conviction by Mr. Jabez Jaques, or

¹ Pliny, *Ep.* VII, 24. By a strange irony of fate the tomb of Numidia Quadratilla, at what is now called San Germano, has been converted into a church "Of the Crucified," and in it a hermit holds a school. Hare, *Days near Rome*, 1884, II, p. 209.

In the *Trinummus* of Plautus we have portraits of an honourable and worthy old father, and of his clean-minded, generous son, Philito and Lysiteles. When Philito says : "He who readily is satisfied with himself is not the really upright man, nor is he really honest ; but he who thinks meanly of himself, in him there is a tendency to well doing," he uttered a sentiment suitable to many a Christian. And Plautus drew men as they were. Were such men to be damned to an eternity of flames ?

In the Third of the Conferences of the Abbot Chæremon, given by Cassian, Germanus pertinently says : "We see that many of the heathen to whom the assistance of Divine Grace has certainly not been vouchsafed, are eminent, not only in the virtues of frugality and patience, but (which is more remarkable) in that of chastity," and then he asks for an explanation of this fact. S. Peter had said : "God is no respecter of persons : but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him" (Acts x, 34-5). And this was also the opinion of S. Paul (Rom. ii, 13-15). It was also the teaching of Clement of Alexandria ; but not that of Augustine, of Calvin, of the Evangelicals.

There were thousands and ten of thousands of simple, honest souls who lived in dear love with their wives, in heathenism ; as they do still. Some years ago a tomb was opened on the Campagna, near Rome, and the sepulchre was disclosed of a certain Viva Severa, with this inscription : "C. Severienus Demetrius Mas. F. Vivire Severiæ, uxori sanctimissimæ et mihi qui mecum vixit ennis xxii mens VIII, dies V. In quibus semper mihi bene fuit cum illa." (What ! are these two loving souls to writhe through eternity in Hell fire, screaming to one another as the devils stoke up the flames ?)

Mr. Ezekiel Hornblower, all these, and every Papist, the humble priest living with and ministering to the lepers, every little Sister of the Poor, every child that dances "round about the mulberry bush," every reader of Scott's novels, every play-goer, every Sabbath-breaker who, having toiled all the week in a close office, mounts his bicycle to fill his jaded lungs with fresh country air, the ragged slum-girl, who toils all day dragging about in her arms a fretful baby-brother, soothing it with kind words and loving kisses, sharing with it her slice of bread with a smear of treacle on it, the rough unscripturally instructed sailor, who helps the women into the only boat from a wreck, and himself, with folded arms, waits on deck to go down into the deep; the soldier unacquainted with the Evangelical shibboleth, who is blinded with liquid fire, fighting for his King and Country; the nurse who succumbs to cancer contracted through ministration to a peevish patient, because she is a Catholic; aye, and the babe that dies in convulsions in its mother's arms, rained on from her eyes, before it has intelligence to acquire a Saving Faith—all these, failing to produce their coupons, meet with the same sentence from the inexorable would-be Judges in white chokers: "Be damned, all the sort of you!" Veritably the Jacobin committees in the Reign of Terror, the Bolsheviks of Moscow, were mercy and justice compared with these men.

No Overstatement—This is no overstatement of the seriousness of the Protestant tenet that by Faith alone admission to the Christian privileges is attainable.

Calvin in the *Institutes* Book II, c. 6, rejects with indignation the idea of the salvability of even the best of the heathen. So in the *Larger Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly taught in every Scottish school, the same reprobation is laid down:

"Q. Can they who have never heard the Gospel, and so know not Jesus Christ, nor believe in Him, be saved by their living according to the light of the Law of Nature?

- A. They who, having never heard the Gospel, know not Jesus Christ, and believe not in Him, cannot be saved, be they never so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of Nature, or the law of that religion which they profess ; neither is there Salvation in any other, but in Christ alone Who is the Saviour *only* of His body in the Church."

This is popularly taught, thank God, no longer in the Church of England, though it was so taught here and there, in the times of Toplady, Berridge, and Grimshaw. It is the teaching of the Roman Church to the present day that none can be saved who do not own allegiance to the Pope and believe all the Articles of the Creed of Pius IV, though it does concede that Invincible Ignorance may excuse compliance with these stipulations.¹

To return to the Evangelicals. We do not think that the Early Evangelicals had wholly absorbed and made their own the full scheme of the Atonement and had thought out its consequences. They had accepted it from S. Anselm as a working theory, but had not applied it to real life. But the more vigorous, unscrupulous, because inconsiderate, of the party laid hold of it as an essential verity, nay, as *the* essential verity, and drove it to its most terrible conclusions. The more sober later Evangelicals limped laggingly after them, accepting the principle, but frightened at what it entailed ; only accepting it because they could not see their way to any other theory to supplant it.

The Justice of God Denied—Is it not plain to the common sense of man that Calvinism not only destroyed the idea of Love in the Almighty, but also extinguished the idea of His Justice ?

The Saints and the Worldlings—It was not only the heathen as already said who were to be excluded from all hope, every chance of Salvation, but those Evangelical worthies sought also to parcel all professing Christians into two packs, one consigned to Heaven, the other to Hell.

¹ Bishop Blomfield of London had an Irish Romanist gardener. The Bishop said to him one day : " I suppose, Pat, that you believe that I cannot possibly be saved." " Sure, my Lord," replied the Irishman, " it's to be hoped that your invincible ignorance may save you."

They counted themselves, and those who shared their opinions, as alone Christians, just as their predecessors had ticketed themselves "the Godly," and "the Saints." And they labelled all the rest as "Worldlings," as their Puritan ancestors had entitled them "the Ungodly." Of old, the men on the plains of Shinar built themselves a tower to reach unto Heaven ; so now did these Evangelicals make an attempt to scramble up into the throne of the supreme Judge. Of old, the heathen said, the Giants attempted to scale Heaven, and failed ; now, according to the Evangelicals, the pigmies capture it.

One of the most popular writers, certainly the most prolific writer of the party, Charlotte Elizabeth, of whom more in the sequel, in *Conformity : a Tale*, 1841, records their belief on this head in a dialogue :—

" I. You admit that all mankind are divided into two classes—the Children of Light, and the Children of Darkness ?

L. Yes.

I. The former you allow to be those exclusively to whom we apply the Apostle's words, ' But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God ? '

L. Precisely those, and none other.

I. The children of darkness you comprehend under that term from every class of human beings : as Heathens who never heard of Christ ; Jews and Infidels, who reject Him ; Nominal Christians, who have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof. And the great bulk of mankind you allow to be those, who, in the language of inspiration, are called ' the World,' in contradistinction to those of whom Christ says, ' I have chosen *you* out of the world ? '

L. To all this I fully assent."

Self-constituted Judges—Every member of our poor, unhappy world, who does not pass this sub-committee of Triers, the favoured delegates of the divines in perpetual session since the Assembly met at Westminster in 1643—

will most assuredly be devoted to perdition, unless they can produce their card entitling them to unlimited rations of perpetual light and happiness.

Every timorous and humble-minded Publican, beating his breast and praying "God be merciful to me, a sinner"; every Magdalen at the feet of Christ, washing them with her tears and wiping them with the hairs of her head; every repentant Peter, every doubting Thomas, every lowly spirit that is unable to affirm having "attained" with a confident brow; every ignorant sinner, and a sinner because ignorant and untaught, whom Charlotte Elizabeth, Mrs. Sherwood, and Mrs. Ellis do not set at *their* right hands, must receive the doom, "Depart from us (Charlotte Elizabeth and Co.) ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

The Origin of the Doctrine of the Atonement—We will now turn our attention to the origin and development of the doctrines of the Atonement that were entertained and laid down as Articles of the Faith to be accepted of all such as hoped to be saved.

The Legal Aspect of the Atonement—S. Paul had received no training in Roman Law. What legal knowledge he possessed was in Mosaic legislation.

When he spoke of redemption and ransom, of man being carnal, sold under sin, this was due to everyday observation in the slave-market. As he passed the platform on which stood the wretched captives and saw the auctioneer with a rod indicate their strong points, their muscular arms, brawny thews, their straight legs, and heard him knocking them down to the purchasers, it occurred to the Apostle that he was furnished with an illustration of the way in which man had come under bondage to sin. So also when he saw an owner give his slave manumission, by a slap on the cheek, he caught at the incident as an illustration of the freedom accorded to men by Christ; just as nowadays a preacher might employ some incident that had fallen under his notice during the week, in his next Sunday's sermon.

But these were illustrations, nothing more. No thought was entertained of pressing them in every particular so as,

out of them, to elaborate a theologic system. It was not till centuries had passed, and till the hard legal Latin mind was engaged on the Atonement that the illustration of the slave-market was given a meaning never designed for it, and an importance it properly did not possess.

Comparative Disregard of the Atonement by the Fathers

—The minds of the Early Fathers, and of the early Christians generally were engrossed by the fact of the Incarnation, and this they strenuously upheld against Gnostic and Docetic assailants. They laid infinitely more stress on the Resurrection than they did on the Passion ; in fact, they regarded the latter mainly as an incident leading to the empty Grave, rather than as a unique and vital point in the Gospel story.

The Crucifix—In the Catacombs no early representation of the Crucifixion is to be found, but almost every incident of the Life from the crib to Bethlehem to the Miraculous draught of Fishes after the Resurrection are represented. Later in the period when Christianity emerged from underground and worshipped in basilicas the representations in vogue were Christ in glory amidst the Twelve, and the Cross as the Tree of Life, putting forth blossoms and fruit, never with the Divine Sufferer hanging on it. Later still, when tentatively the Crucifix appeared in painting and in sculpture, Christ was not shown hanging upon it, in the cramps of death, but crowned and robed in royal purple as though the Cross were a throne from which He “reigned as from the tree.”¹

Philosophizing Christianity—But in Egypt and Northern Africa Christianity had been accepted by a disputatious population trained from boyhood to philosophize on all possible subjects, the more abstruse the more they were relished ; and unscrupulous as to the sacredness and the profundity of the mysteries over which they delighted to wrangle. Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine of Hippo attempted to found a school of Christian philosophy to rival, whilst borrowing from, that of the neo-Platonists.

¹ Pope Leo IX wrote to Michael Cellarius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1054), a letter condemning, among other Oriental practices, that of representing Christ as a dying man on the Cross, this he denounced as nothing else but “a species of Antichrist, presented to be adored as God.” The first to order the Crucifix as an indispensable ornament of the altar was Benedict XIV, in 1754.

At once arose the question, *Why* did Christ die upon the Cross? Give us a rational solution to this riddle.

It was thus that theories as to Redemption were formulated, and the illustrations used by S. Peter and S. Paul were taken up, transferred into the lawyer's office and put into legal form.

Origen's Theory—Origen led the way. It was assumed that man was a slave under bondage to Satan, and that as a mercantile transaction Christ had purchased him, and had translated him from slavery to sonship, at the price of His blood. There were S. Peter's words to support this doctrine: "Ye know that ye were redeemed not with corruptible things, as silver and gold . . . But with the precious blood of Christ." And S. Paul's "Ye are bought with a price." And as the Devil was the slave-dealer he received the purchase-money, to which he had a legal right. The transaction was perfectly in accordance with law. There was an end of it.

But this was too purely a forensic theory or rather a commercial deal to meet with general acceptance. It was repugnant to the Christian conscience to conceive of Christ paying over His blood to Satan.

That repudiated by Aquinas—The great theologian, Thomas Aquinas, rejected the theory. He wrote: "In respect to God, not in respect to the Devil, Justice exacted that Man should be redeemed. In the next place it must be said that because redemption was requisite for man's liberation . . . the price was not to be paid to the Devil, but to God. Consequently Christ is not said to have given His blood as the purchase-money of our redemption to the Devil, but to God." ¹

Still the idea of buying and selling prevailed, the only question was—who was to receive the cash payment. The theory was rotten from its initiation.

Theory of Anselm—S. Anselm came forward with a new scheme, and it was one that was laid hold of by the Schoolmen and greatly elaborated. It was a theory accepted and developed later by Calvin. His theory was this: Man by his sin had incurred a debt to the Almighty; he was incapable

¹ *Summa Theologiæ*, III, xlvi, 4.

of discharging this obligation, and was consequently consigned to the debtors' prison till Christ came, and by His blood, paid to the Father, released man from his bonds.

But that was not all. Man had not only incurred a debt to God, but he had also insulted His Majesty. He was guilty of Contempt of Court, and until the majesty of God could be propitiated man was liable to punishment, not only on account of his original debt, but also on account of his insolence to the Bench. Christ, by His humiliation even to the death on the Cross, satisfied the offended dignity of Almighty God.

That of Calvin—This theory was further developed by Calvin, who formulated the dogma of Substitution. Man had incurred God's wrath, which could be appeased only by blood, and Christ suffered vicariously for man, and man escapes unpenalized for his crimes, because the Saviour endured the pains of death and the torments of hell in his room.¹

The Atonement in Man Himself—In all these schemes Satan figures large ; and the fact is forgotten that man's slavery is due to his own act, to his subjecting himself to servitude to his animal passions, his selfish greed, his wilfulness. If he has to be bought back *he must be ransomed from himself*. Christ's work of redemption was that of redeeming the higher, spiritual nature of Man from the sordid sensual nature, and the Atonement is the making at one of that human nature which had been torn in opposite directions by the contending interests of soul and body.

Reconciliation—We may cast aside the idea of payment made to Satan, as also payment made to the Almighty to satisfy an outstanding debt and appease offended dignity, and accept the Atonement as the reconciliation of man's divided nature. The Gospel is the declaration of man being brought into union with God by "escaping the corruption that was in the world through ill-regulated desire (*ἐπιθυμία*)."² It is a Gospel of restoration and development, and only incidentally, as preliminary to this process, one of forgiveness.

¹ *Institutes*, IV, c. 16, § 10.

² 2 Peter i, 4.

The parterre must be weeded and the stroil burnt before the flower seeds be sown.

As we have pointed out, the theories formed to explain the Atonement were largely based upon metaphorical expressions employed by the Apostles in illustration taken from Slavery, such as Redemption, Ransom, Deliverance, familiar terms at one time, appreciable when employed by a speaker on Christian doctrine in a world where Slavery, the purchase of slaves and their release, were familiar facts.

Canon Moberly says : " As a matter of fact, the chief difficulties about the doctrine of the Atonement for many centuries rose out of the over-technical emphasis which was laid on these three words (Redemption, Ransom, Deliverance). It was our Redemption ; from whom did He buy us back ? What price did He pay ? And by what reckoning did it constitute a due equivalent ? If to the Devil, what right had the Devil to a ransom ? Or if he had a right to receive a ransom, why not return it ? How did he accept a ransom that gave him nothing ? If to God, in what sense did God hold us captive ? Or did Christ purchase us from God ? Again, if He was our Deliverer out of captivity what was the nature of the right under which we were held captive ? What was the relation of the Devil's dominion to God's dominion ? And the precise justice or forbearance of God which prevented Him from delivering us by force ? " ¹

Dr. Moberly says further : " The untenable elements of thought which were often introduced into the theological explanation of the Atonement . . . may be broadly said to have arisen out of exaggerated or disproportioned use of such metaphorical phrases as Redemption, Ransom, and Deliverance out of the dominion of Satan. The untenable elements of thought which have been so characteristic of the atoning theories of popular Protestantism may be said to have arisen out of a still more mischievous misuse of Propitiation, Reconciliation, and Justification. Out of these words have been drawn—perversely enough—the conceptions of an enraged Father, a victimized Son, the unrighteous punishment of the Innocent, the unrighteous reward of the Guilty, the transfer of Innocence and Guilt

¹ Moberly (R. C.), *Atonement and Personality*, 1911, p. 338.

by a fictitious Imputation, the adroit settlement of an artificial difficulty by an artificial and strictly irrelevant transaction." ¹

The conception of trade dealings, of commerce, had been employed to explain divine mysteries. The primitive Christians had accepted them as illustrations, but as nothing more. The scholastic theorists did not scruple to treat these transactions in the slave market as bases of dogma, to transfer to the dealings of God with man, procedure which in the Courts of Law, and in the common transactions of man with man might be legal, but occasionally would be fraudulent, or, only so far allowable as to be legally permissible, though morally dishonest.

These mischievous speculations were elevated into Schemes of Salvation to be imposed as Articles of Belief.

Abelard on the Atonement—Against the hard, forensic system of Anselm that of Abelard was issued as a protest. Anselm died in A.D. 1109, and his book *Cur Deus Homo* was producing a great effect, and was placing the doctrine of the Atonement in a wrong light, as Abelard (d. 1142) thought. He pointed out that what is plain from the writers of the New Testament was that the Atonement was a crowning manifestation of the Love of God to man; it was no outcome of a struggle between His Justice and His Mercy, it was altogether due to His overflowing love revealing itself, in order that men, attracted by it, might entertain a responsive love towards Him, and that so, love being kindled in their hearts, sin would be expelled; or, to be more exact, as sin has no positive existence, the desire to act contrary to the will of God would be extinguished. He held that man is justified before God when the flame of love operates, purifying and regenerating the soul and the mind. Justification is pro- not merely retro-spective. With the life brought into harmony with the purpose of God, pardon for the past is given along with help for the future.

The insistence on the so-called Evangelical theory of Atonement as a fundamental verity has brought doubt into many minds as to the divine origin of Christianity.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

The Incarnation and Atonement a Revelation not a Riddle—That which was a Revelation the theologians from Origen down had treated as a Riddle, to which every subtle brain was at liberty to propose a solution ; and in these solutions Christianity was obscured as in a fog, and that a fog too often charged with poisonous exhalations.

It was as a revelation of God's love that the Gospel was to the heathen world a dazzling beam of light dispelling darkness and awakening an answering spark in thousands and tens of thousands of hearts from Cæsar's palace to the ergastulum of the slave. As a revelation it is proclaimed : "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world ; but that the world through Him might be saved." That which was a Revelation theologians treated as a Problem. This is the revelation which the Early Church proclaimed, and it is one that can be understood by the little child and the grey-headed grandfather alike. It is because of this revelation of the love of God that we are justified in praying "Our Father which art in heaven." It was because the Puritan conceived of Him only as a God of Wrath and Vengeance that he logically objected to the use of the Lord's Prayer.

Away then with the figment of Vindictive Justice ! It is as the supreme revelation of Love that the Cross is and has been—except to the Puritan—inexpressibly dear. In verity, even when the Son of Man comes on the clouds of Heaven to judge the world, He is preceded by His sign, in token that Judgment is tempered with Mercy.

That in the Mystery of the Cross there is more than has been dealt with here the author is far from denying. All he has done has been to combat one theory of the Atonement advocated by the Evangelicals, and to show its fallacy.

What the English Church says—Let us then turn to a document familiar to every one of us—so familiar, in that it is recited twice every day, that we have failed to appreciate its profound significance. We allude to the *General Confession*.

"Almighty and most merciful Father"—at the onset

the note is struck that sounds love, not vindictive Justice—"We have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts . . . and we have done those things which we ought not to have done." Here is distinct recognition of the Way of God's will and the law of our being being set before man, and of his exercise of free will in straying from it. "And there is no health in us (in nobis nulla est salus)." This does not mean absolute corruption, but that there is no means in us of recovery by ourselves *without* the assistance of Divine Grace. "But Thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults." The first stage of repentance is recognition of error, and the second is acknowledgment of transgression. "Restore thou them that are penitent, according to Thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord." Here we have the appeal to be replaced in the right way with the face in the right direction. Not one word about Imputation of Merits. "And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life." No stationary position, but an eager pressing forward along the right road to the right end, and in the right mood and disposition of the will.

The Confession is in total contradiction to the schemes of Salvation propounded by Luther and Calvin, and entirely in conformity with the teaching of the Universal Church.

Rejection of some of Luther's Dogmas—We will now leave the theological pot, into which the rationalizing sons of the prophets had shredded wild gourds and poisoned the mess, and come to the consideration of the Evangelical Fathers themselves at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who with their spoons dipped in the pottage took it up, swallowed it, and did not perceive its deleterious elements.

In one particular the Evangelical main body dissociated itself from Luther's doctrine. He had laid down that Faith had nothing whatever to do with Love to God and Charity to man; in fact, he who was justified was recommended to refrain from every attempt to serve God by obedience and

by acts of love, lest thereby he should be tempted to rely in some measure on his own exertions.

But the Evangelicals of England did not unanimously accept this doctrine, or, at all events, refused to act upon it.

Charity among the Evangelicals—None were more forward, none more zealous, none more liberal in works of Charity, and in the field of Missions, than the Evangelical Fathers.

The Main Evangelical Body—The Evangelical party formed no homogeneous body. It comprised, as it continues to comprise, men loyal to the Church of England, and who had taken Calvinism and Lutheranism so mildly as not to affect their moral teaching. But from this party branched off others that have now disappeared, or have altered their names. That section of the old Evangelicals that fraternized with Dissent is now represented by the Broad Church or Modernist party, not that it shares with the sectarians any of their definite beliefs, but acts thus as a demonstration that they themselves have no definite convictions at all and that they are disposed to tolerate every form of negation, being inspired by that spirit which, according to Goethe is one "that evermore denies," and they seek Unity in Negation, conceiving of none other as possible or worth cultivation.

A second branch is that which launched out into all the extravagances of revivalism. It has now totally disappeared.

Mutual Repulsion—The old central party might have, and probably would have, advanced in their Churchmanship had they not been frightened by the *Tracts for the Times*, above all by Tract XC. The precipitation and impatience of the Oxford party drove them into antagonism; but this antagonism was largely due to misunderstanding the aims of Keble, Pusey, and Isaac Williams, who sought nothing further than the resuscitation of the theology of the Caroline divines. But the sober main body of the Oriel men was surrounded by intemperate and inconsiderate skirmishers who blew their ram's horns to the utmost strain of their lungs, expecting thereby to see the walls of the Protestant Jericho fall, instead of which they drove the garrison to

add another story to their mural enclosure. And the most dangerous of these was Newman.

Little attempt was made to arrive at mutual understanding. The Evangelical moderates, such as Simeon, Wilberforce, Edward Bickersteth, Thomas Scott, and the younger Venn, thoroughly disapproved of the extravagances of Grimshaw and Berridge; just as Pusey, Keble, Marriott, and Williams disapproved of the extravagances of Ward and Hurrell Froude. The leaders on each side judged those on the other side by the acts and words of these respective free lances, those of the Tractarians were mostly concerned to scandalize the "Prots," and draw attention to themselves, much as certain females seek to outrage opinion and attract notice by wearing very short skirts and being indelicately *décolletées*, or setting fire to a church. There were considerable secessions on the Evangelical side into Dissent, and there were considerable secessions on the Oxford side into Popery. Each side counted up these droppings, exclaimed against the other and pointed a moral from the respective secessions.

The Dramatis Personæ—We have been compelled at some length to deal with the main doctrine which was the sheet-anchor of Evangelicalism. We must now give some account of the principal men of the movement and marshal forth both the Moderates and the Immoderates.

We can afford space for but a brief sketch of a few of these.

Charles Simeon—In King's College, Cambridge, is a beautiful early portrait¹ of the Rev. Charles Simeon, incumbent of Holy Trinity in that town. Goodness and kindness streams from the countenance. And if this be the case in a mere painting, what must it have been from the living countenance, and those gentle, deep eyes. Charles Simeon did much to infuse into University life that religious spirit which at the time was almost wholly dead. Simeon went up to King's from Eton in 1778. He had not been there long before the Provost sent to tell him that within a few weeks, at mid-term, the Holy Communion would be

¹ Judging from later portraits, the character of his face rapidly deteriorated.

administered in the Chapel, and that he was required on that occasion to communicate. The message was based on a college rule from which no exception was allowed. It took Simeon by surprise. He wrote in a private *Memoir* : " It was but the third day after my arrival that I understood I should be expected in the space of about three weeks to attend the Lord's Supper. ' What,' said I, ' must I attend ? ' On being informed that I must, the thought rushed into my mind that Satan himself was as fit to attend as I ; and that if I must attend, I must *prepare* for my attendance there. Without a moment's loss of time I bought the *Whole Duty of Man*, the only religious book that I had ever heard of, and began to read it with great diligence ; at the same time calling my ways to remembrance and crying to God for mercy ; and so earnest was I in these exercises that within the three weeks I made myself quite ill with reading, fasting, and prayer. The first book which I got to instruct me in reference to the Lord's Supper (for I knew that on Easter Sunday I must receive it again) was Kettlewell on the Sacrament ; but I remember that it required more of me than I could bear, and therefore I procured Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper, which seemed to be more moderate in its requirements. I continued with unabated earnestness to search out and mourn over the numberless iniquities of my former life ; and so greatly was my mind oppressed with the weight of them, that I frequently looked upon the dogs with envy ; wishing, if it were possible, that I could be blessed with their mortality and they be cursed with my immortality in my stead. I set myself immediately to undo all my former sins, as far as I could ; and did it in some instances which required great self-denial ; but the having done it has been a comfort to me even to this very hour, inasmuch as it gives me reason to hope that my repentance was genuine.

" My distress of mind continued for about three months, and well might it have continued for years, since my sins were more in number than the hairs of my head ; but God in infinite condescension began at last to smile upon me and to give me a hope of acceptance with Him.

" But in Passion Week, as I was reading Bishop Wilson

on the Lord's Supper, I met with an expression to this effect: 'That the Jews knew what they did when they transferred their sins to the head of their offering.' The thought came into my mind, What, may I transfer all my guilt to another? Has God provided an Offering for me, that I may lay my sins on His head? Then, God willing, I will not bear them on my soul one moment longer. Accordingly I sought to lay my sins upon the sacred head of Jesus: and on the Wednesday began to have a hope of mercy; on the Thursday that hope increased; on the Friday and Saturday it became more strong; and on the Sunday morning, Easter-day, April 4, I awoke early with those words upon my heart and lips, 'Jesus Christ is risen to-day! Hallelujah! Hallelujah!' From that hour peace flowed in rich abundance into my soul; and at the Lord's Table in our Chapel I had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour."

Shortcoming—This very beautiful and touching bit of self-revelation exhibits both the strength and the weakness of Evangelicalism. It shows a grasp of the Calvinistic doctrine of the Atonement, such as Bunyan's pilgrim felt when he cast his burden down at the foot of the Cross, but at the same time hardly exhibits an adequate perception of the amends due from the penitent for past transgressions.

Self-esteem—One weakness that manifests itself conspicuously in Simeon's *Memoirs* was the alloy of vanity that appears, we may almost say, in almost every thought, word, and deed of his life. This self-consciousness and self-satisfaction maintained itself undeviatingly from the beginning to the end of his life; indeed all his plans and all his public measures were so bound up with a certain view of self, that Simeon would not have been Simeon without it; Egoism with him was not an occasional outbreak of eloquent language in his own praises, but it was a radical want of humility and power of keeping himself under. We see the effect of it in his temper, in his very imperfect habits of self-denial; for in a man of his great professions we do expect some evidence of contempt for the world; we see it also in his confident assurance of being a special instrument in the hands of Providence. For one who professed to have

renounced the world and all its pomps and luxuries we are surprised to hear of his carriage and pair, his flunkies, and his self-indulgence in meat and drink.

Again, there is a decided egoism in a certain manner of presenting oneself to be a special instrument in the hands of Providence. And this comes out repeatedly in Simeon's *Memoirs* and letters. The same egoism—the same I, I, I, are conspicuous everywhere. He had no respect for authority, when it interfered with his own predetermined ways. He had not much respect for a bishop, unless he were one of his own school, and then he had rather not be with him on the same platform, where he must play second fiddle to the Right Reverend Father in God. Notwithstanding his professed love of the English Church and of the Prayer Book, he entertained no scruple in attending Presbyterian service in Scotland, even in communicating there.

A cool Orthodoxy—The original Evangelical fathers were, as has been already said, to a certain extent and coolly orthodox, but having no very definite Church opinions themselves, and becoming fascinated by the apparent success of the revivalists, Wesley and Whitefield, as iron filings are attracted by a magnet, they became magnetized themselves. The old-fashioned unspiritual clergy of the English Church considered them with disapproval and not a little alarm, as a dash of gallopaders might be regarded romping into and disturbing the order of minuet-dancers. These grave old clerics did not know what to make of the invasion. They drew themselves up, and became more stiff. Only a rare junior was caught from among them and whisked away in what the rest considered a mad frolic.

We had given a brief account of the most characteristic members of the Evangelical party, but the exigences of space obliges us to cancel the notices of most, and confine ourselves to a very few. Of the more sober, the right wing of the party may be reckoned Newton, Scott, Cecil, the Milners, and Henry Venn, beside the two Sumners, and Cunningham of Harrow.

The Sumners—Richardson gives us some reminiscences of the Sumners. "The present Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, were both

educated at Eton, and were both fellows of King's College, Cambridge." This implies no superiority in ability, for to become a fellow of King's was a mere matter of routine.¹ "His Grace is known as a moderately good scholar, an amiable man, and a quiet theologian; beyond these not very uncommon qualifications, he is no more than a very everyday sort of person. His brother has less scholarship, and is equally respectable in public and private life; but who for a moment can point out any other means by which these two persons would have obtained their eminence on the prelatic bench than through the patronage of the Marchioness Conyngham." In fact their advancement was due to gross jobbery.

The Marchioness of Conyngham—Charles Sumner had been travelling tutor to the son of the Marchioness of Conyngham. The marquess had been created Lord Steward in December, 1821, and the Marchioness had become the reigning favourite and practically the mistress of the household of George IV. Her brother, Mr. Denison, is said to have remonstrated with her at occupying a position that was so equivocal, and to have threatened to alter his will to her

¹ "Before the recent alteration in the 'election' to King's College, Cambridge, of the 'collegers,' the mode of operation in that business was a piece of perfect humbug that existed in contradiction to the statutes of the founder, as well as in opposition to common sense and, it may be added, common honesty. The only criterion of fitness was seniority. There might be at King's College, upon an average, five vacancies of fellowships every year; to these the scholars of that foundation succeeded, leaving five vacant scholarships to be filled up by five 'collegers' to be 'elected' from Eton. The boy who stood first upon the list at Eton when a vacancy occurred, and who had obtained that pre-eminence, not by merit but simply by seniority, was the first to be sent off to King's. It might happen that he was infinitely inferior in classical attainments to the boy next below him; nevertheless, obtain the scholarship he did; and it not infrequently happened that the boy next below him lost his chance of a scholarship at King's College altogether, by being superannuated before another vacancy occurred there.

"A scholarship at King's is no trifling appointment. At the end of three years the scholar becomes a fellow, the emoluments of his fellowship being about three or four hundred a year, and that when he becomes a senior fellow, the emoluments he receives is nearly double that sum. He may, should he enter Holy orders, be presented to a living, the average amount of the benefices belonging to the college ranging from five hundred to a thousand a year." *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

This must be borne in mind when considering the Sumners and Simeon, that their having been fellows of King's College is no warrant that they possessed brains superior to those of their bedmakers; for a fellowship at that college came automatically to a scholar on the Eton foundation, without an examination to test learning or intelligence.

disadvantage. We will quote Robert Huish in his *Memoirs of George IV*. "Of the Marchioness of Conyngham, this celebrated favourite of the late King, it is difficult to ascertain when, or at what time he added her to the royal circle : it is however certain . . . that her influence over the royal mind, to the very last moments of the life of the King, was perhaps greater than had ever been exercised by any other female. The residence of her husband about the Court might have formed a sufficient protection for the honour of his wife ; but when the influence of the marchioness took a political turn, the power superinduced on the supposed attachment of the King excited surmises in respect to the attachment subsisting between them, which the closest connexion, in the ordinary opinion of mankind, could alone give birth to and promote. It was natural for the marchioness to provide for her family ; and had she confined her influence to the promotion and advancement of her sons and daughters . . . the country would, perhaps, not have murmured. Had it been confined to merely family connexions, no voice would perhaps have been raised against it ; but when the highest offices in the Church were bestowed on persons scarcely previously heard of—when political parties rose and fell, and ministers were created and deposed, to gratify the ambition of a female, then the palace appeared as if surrounded by some pestilential air. The entrance to Windsor Castle was, as it were, hermetically sealed by the enchantress within to all but the favoured few. The court of George IV differed from that of Charles II, although the number and reputation of their several mistresses were nearly the same ; but George IV had no confiscations to confer on the instruments of his pleasures. . . . But if it be true that the late King left to the marchioness more than half a million of money, the outrage is morally the same as if estates had been alienated, or titles bestowed to gratify her ambition."¹

It was due largely to the scandalous appointment of Charles Sumner to a canonry at Windsor that Lord Liverpool resigned. Mr. Huish in another place says of the

¹ *Memoirs of George IV*, 1831, II, pp. 339-40. We have curtailed Mr. Huish's account.

marchioness: "In 1823-4 the King went no more to Brighton, because Lady Conyngham had been there insulted. The extraordinary ascendancy which that lady had obtained over the royal mind was now so apparent in all his actions that he may literally be said to be a King governed by one subject, and that subject more influential and powerful in her authority than the first Minister of the State."¹

When Charles Sumner was in Switzerland with his pupil, the marchioness's son, the youth fell in love with Mlle. Mounoire, the pretty daughter of a Genevan pastor, to the consternation of his mother. However, the tutor saved the situation by himself marrying the young lady. In reward for having thus prevented a social calamity, so it was said at the time, Lady Conyngham became his zealous patroness, and he was given a canonry at Windsor, against the remonstrances of Lord Liverpool, and one preferment after another. He was made Bishop of Llandaff and Dean of S. Paul's in 1826, and was promoted to Winchester in 1827. On his appointment to the former see, he spoke out vehemently in disapprobation of translations, and, within a twelvemonth, was himself translated to Winchester, without expressing any recantation of his former expressed opinion.

Mr. F. Arnold, in his book, *Our Bishops and Deans*, says of Charles Sumner, "If he had not been Bishop of Winchester, he would have held a very modest and unpretending position of his own—in plain words, he was a man of limited intelligence, strong prejudices and commonplace abilities." He was able to introduce his brother John Bird to George IV, and with the continued favour of the marchioness, obtained for him the Bishopric of Chester, 1828. Later, as being the most submissive and incompetent man he could find to fill the chair of S. Anselm and Lanfranc, Lord John Russell advanced him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Archbishop was a spoonful of the same batter as Charles Sumner, into which the cook had forgotten to put salt, and which had turned sour. It is significant that the son of the Bishop of Winchester, in his life of his father, says not one word about the Marchioness of Conyngham who made the fortunes of his father and uncle. As a bishop he owed

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

everything to Lady Conyngham. Between April, 1821, and November, 1827, he was made Historiographer, Chaplain to the King, and Librarian in Ordinary; Vicar of S. Helen's, Abingdon; Canon of Winchester; Canon of Canterbury; Dean of S. Paul's; Bishop of Llandaff; Bishop of Winchester. A more narrow, bigoted and incapable man could hardly have been found. He had but his good looks to commend him. He refused Priest's Orders to Peter King, Keble's Curate. From statistics gathered by Lord Shaftesbury, it was shown that out of every hundred working-men in that part of London included in his diocese, ninety-eight never entered a place of worship of any kind; but he made no effort to attract this multitude of wanderers into the fold. His exertions were directed to oppose Ritualism and hinder those efforts that were being made to save souls among his vast neglected flock, of which he did not approve.

Such formed the main body of the Evangelicals, clerical as well as lay, some discreet, charitable, pious, and conservative towards the Prayer Book, but others shallow-brained and mere obstructives.

The Second Phase of Evangelicalism—But there was a second type of Evangelical, excitable, impatient of control, self-centred, and self-opinionated, inclined to go to the utmost extreme in Calvinism or in Lutheranism; men who detested the restraints imposed by the Prayer Book, and eager, without losing their benefices, to conform completely to Whitefieldianism or Wesleyanism.

The Hull Comprehensionists—Hull was a seat of this restless party, and in 1834 its clergy came forward as reformers. They proposed an alteration of the Prayer Book on much the same lines as that proposed by Wilkins and Tillotson. They might have attracted little attention had not Croker dragged them into notoriety by a scathing article in the *Quarterly Review*, in which he said: "Collect the asinine together and they would batter each other to pieces with their heels." This silenced them, but one, more honest than his fellows, Andrew Jukes, left the Church and became a Dissenting preacher.¹ Mr. Sibthorpe,

¹ Jukes had a chapel built for him at Hull, in which he preached, till dissensions broke out in his congregation, and forced him to leave. He then removed to Highgate. Presently he returned to the Church, and was

who had been a curate at Hull under Scott, joined the Church of Rome.

This was the first formal adhesion of a portion of the Evangelical party to that which had been initiated in 1771 by Archdeacon Blackburne and the "Three Feathers" Conspirators. These latter had desired the purging of Catholic doctrine and practice out of the Prayer Book in the interests of Socinianism; the Hull Petitioners in the interests of Protestantism, Calvinistic or Lutheran. From this time forward a party of the Evangelicals has persistently striven to obtain this result, culminating in the attempt made by Lord Ebury in 1860. But the main body of the Evangelicals is entirely out of sympathy with such revisionists.

To this, the left wing of the Evangelical party, belonged Grimshaw, Conyers, Fletcher of Madeley, Toplady, and Berridge.

Grimshaw—William Grimshaw (1708–63) was Vicar of Haworth, "an Israelite indeed," said Wesley of him. "A few such would make a nation tremble." At Haworth, looking north and south, east also and west, he could discern no other than Church folk. In his own parish he built a meeting-house and a residence for a Dissenting preacher, whom he installed to become a thorn in the side of his successor. He may be regarded as the father of Yorkshire dissent, as Berridge was of that in Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. After the death of his wife he fell into a morbid condition of religious despondency, for several years believing himself to be damned, and was haunted with temptation to commit suicide. One day, the sun shining in at his window was strongly reflected by some pewter plates, and these irradiated a book on the shelf, *Owen on Justification by Faith*. He took it down and read it. Then, when

licensed by the Bishop of London to act as deacon in his diocese. In 1892 he wrote: "I once thought Dissent a religious thing. It was so at first. The sin of the Church in former years almost forced true hearts and tender consciences into separation and dissent from her. Even in my young days Dissent was to a great extent religious, though mixed with not a little self-will. Now it is everywhere mainly social and political. . . . Political power is sought at all costs, even by alliance with Romanists and Infidels, if only the Church of England can be pulled down, as they think, by disestablishment." Jeaffreson (H. H.), *Letters of Andrew Jukes*, 1903.

officiating in church, he was seized with giddiness and saw a vision, as he himself related. He found himself in a dark, narrow passage, separated from hell by only a thin partition. He heard above him God the Father and God the Son holding a heated dispute as to what was to be done with him. The former declared that Mr. Grimshaw was fit only to be damned, as he had not yet relinquished the thoughts of doing his duty—in a word, he relied on his own good works. The latter remonstrated and thrust his hands and feet through the ceiling so that Grimshaw could see them, and he observed that the nail-holes were ragged in outline and blue in colour, and that from them dripped fresh blood. From this moment he revived, and ever after found peace in the conviction of the utter worthlessness of human endeavour after righteousness, and that the only position for a Christian to assume was one of passive receptivity.

Drives his People into Church—During the hymn before the sermon Grimshaw was accustomed to issue from the Church and drive within, sometimes with a horsewhip, all loiterers in the graveyard, so as to hear his discourse. "If they will not come voluntarily to the banquet I provide," said Grimshaw, "they must be compelled to come in."

In his parish he established so strict a despotism that a man riding on an urgent mission of charity upon a Sunday could not persuade the blacksmith to shoe his horse till he had obtained the minister's permission. Grimshaw was wont to disguise himself, sometimes as an old woman, at others as a tramp, so as to prowl about his parish and detect evil-doers. Once when Whitefield was preaching in his pulpit and belauding the people as saints, under such a pastor, Grimshaw shouted to him: "Oh, Sir! for God's sake do not speak so. Do not flatter them. I fear that the greater part of them are going to Hell with their eyes open."

Romaine—William Romaine (1714-95) was of foreign Huguenot parentage. He was the son of a refugee. As Morning Lecturer at S. George's, Hanover Square, in 1753, he attracted the poor by his blood-curdling doctrine, and

by his unquestionable eloquence. The fashionables disapproved and he had to leave.

At this date he was the sole representative of Calvinism in the London churches. He went to S. Dunstan's-in-the-West, where also he attracted the ignorant and the unwashed. Lady Huntingdon took him up and made him one of her chaplains. Finally he settled at S. Anne's, Blackfriars, where also he attracted crowds. Wesley respected the man's sincerity, but considered his teaching ethically dangerous, and warned his own disciples to keep away from it. Romaine taught that Believers were not required to keep "the Law," i.e. the Moral Law, in order to be saved. "Remember that thou art not required to obey to be saved for thy obedience; but thou art already saved." Even John Newton was alarmed and told Wilberforce that "Romaine made many Antinomians."

Berridge—Berridge, at Everton, emulated the worst extravagances of Wesley. In his church, his graveyard, and his garden, people fell, screamed, and went into convulsions. A girl is mentioned who was thrown into the most violent contortions of body, weeping aloud incessantly during the whole service. Children were most easily affected. This sort of hysterical mania is catching as is measles. One of the contributors of the *Biglow Papers* wrote:—

If you did dror off a spell, ther' wuzn't no occasion
To lose the thread, because, ye see, he bellered like all
Bashan.

It's dry work follerin' argymunce, an' so, 'twix' this an' that,
I felt conviction weighin' down somehow inside my hat;

It growed an' growed like Jonah's gourd; a kin' o' whirlin' ketched
me,

Ontil I fin'lly clean giv out, an' owned up that he'd fetched
me;

An' when nine-tenths the perrish took to tumblin' roun' an'
hollering,

I did n' fin' no gret in th' way (great difficulty) o' turnin' tu' an'
follerin'.

Although Vicar of Everton, Berridge conceived that the world was his parish, and, in defiance of Episcopal admonitions, he rambled about, preaching where he listed, regardless of the incumbents of the parishes he invaded. Crowds attended his sermons wherever he preached, people walking

thither thirty or forty miles, in nervous expectation of being like so many others thrown prostrate and made to foam at the mouth.

Convulsions—"When poor sinners felt the sentence of death in their souls, what sounds of distress did I hear!" Men shrieked and roared like bulls, or breathed like people half strangled. Others fell down as if dead, and when the convulsions were over they smiled and were full of peace and joy, under the conviction that their sins had been forgiven. Women would tear up the ground with their hands, filling them with tufts of grass and earth.¹

The Itinerating Preacher—Itinerating was unquestionably attractive to the itinerator when he could produce such effects, and the arrival of one of these wandering stars in a parish accustomed to the dull light of a prosy rector was electrifying, as Birdofredum Sawin wrote in the *Biglow Papers* already quoted:—

The min'ster's only settlement's the carpet-bag he packs his
Razor an' soap-brush inter, with his hymbook an' his Bible,—
But they *du* preach, I swan (swear) to man, it's puf'kly in-
describ'le!

They go it like an Ericsson's ten-hoss-power coleric ingine,
An' make Ole Split-Foot winch an' squirm, for all he's used to
singein' ;

Hawkin's whetstone ain't a pinch o' primin' to the innards
To hearin' on 'em put Free Grace t'a lot o' twohold sin-hards !

Berridge's instruction to his curate was : "Lift up your voice and frighten the jackdaws out of the steeple ; for if you do not cry aloud while you are young, you will not do it when you are old."

What could be more certain than that after Berridge's death his hearers would leave the Church for chapels where they could obtain their fill of religious excitement ? Moreover, what can be more certain than that preaching in this style was unwholesome to the hearers ? Berridge composed his own epitaph, omitting only the date of his death :—

¹ A graphic account, by eye-witnesses of scenes resembling heathen orgies, at Berridge's Revivals is given in Wesley's *Journal*, IV, pp. 317-21. Too long to be here quoted. As these eye-witnesses were all favourable, one may reckon that the more unseemly incidents were not recorded. See also pp. 334-43.

Reader

Art thou born again ?

No Salvation without a New Birth.

I was born in sin, February, 1716.

Remained ignorant of my fallen state till 1730.

Lived proudly on Faith and Works for Salvation,

Till 1754.

Admitted to Everton Vicarage, 1755.

Fled to Jesus alone for refuge, 1756.

Fell asleep in Christ, January 22, 1793.

Fletcher of Madeley—John William Fletcher, of Madeley, was actually a Swiss born at Nyon on 12 September, 1729. His real name was De la Fletchère. He was educated at the University of Geneva and, probably from observation of the immoral effects of Calvinism, entertained a strong dislike to it. Although he had been intended for the ministry, he felt that he could not subscribe to the Genevan formularies. He came to England and acted as tutor in a gentleman's family, when he made the acquaintance of some Methodists and was received into their society. He at once adopted John Wesley's Arminianism, and was ordained by Egerton, Bishop of Bangor, as deacon, on 6 March, 1757, and priest on the following Sunday. It shows the extreme carelessness of some of the prelates of the period that such a candidate should be thus accepted, who had not the remotest acquaintance with Church doctrine and was to all intents and purposes a Wesleyan minister.

Fletcher brought with him into the pulpit Southern impetuosity in gesticulation and oratory, and his foreign intonation added piquancy to his speech. Wesley said of him that he was all fire and love : " His writings, like his constant conversation, breathing nothing else."

Intimate with the Wesleys—He became Vicar of Madeley in 1760, and he often invited John and Charles Wesley and their preachers to harangue there. In 1758 Fletcher had begun to address the French prisoners on parole at Tunbridge. Sherlock, Bishop of London, forbade this, as these men were Roman Catholics, and he suspected that Fletcher would seize the occasion for attacking the doctrines of their Church and producing disturbances.

Some three years later Sherlock died of cancer in the mouth, in his eighty-second year, 1761. Wesley thereupon

wrote : " Some may think this was a just retribution for silencing such a prophet on such an occasion. I am not ashamed to acknowledge that that is my own sentiment."

A Queer Communion—In August, 1777, writes a Mr. James Rogers, he went to see him (Fletcher) at a Mr. Ireland's, near Bristol, with two of his brethren. " After a little conversation upon the universal love of God in Christ Jesus, we were about to take our leave when Mr. Ireland sent his footman into the yard with a bottle of red wine and some slices of bread upon a waiter ; we all uncovered our heads while Mr. Fletcher craved a blessing upon the same, which he had no sooner done than he handed first the bread to each and, lifting up his eyes to Heaven, pronounced these words, ' The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . everlasting life.' Afterwards handing the wine he repeated in like manner, ' The Blood . . . etc.' But such a Sacrament I never had before. A sense of Divine Presence rested upon us all ; and we were melted into floods of tears." ¹

Encourages Dissent—Fletcher and his wife erected conventicles in which they preached, for Wesley had sanctioned female predication ; and he built a chapel in his own parish to secure to his parishioners that they should have the Gospel, as he conceived it, given to them after his decease, and it would fail to be proclaimed in the village church.

Toplady—Augustus Montague Toplady (1740-78) was one of the strongest of the Calvinistic brood in the Church. His diary that is extant reveals him to have been a conceited prig when a boy.

He had two livings in Devon, Ven-Ottery and Harpford, but not liking them he effected an exchange with a Mr. Luce in 1768. A few days later the vicarage at Harpford caught fire and was burnt down. Whereupon he thanked the Lord that the expense of rebuilding it would fall on Mr. Luce and not on himself. He wrote : " What a providential mercy was it that I resigned the living before the misfortune happened ! O God, how wise and how gracious

¹ Benson (Joseph), *Life of Fletcher of Madeley*, prefixed to Fletcher's works. There is a tenth edition, published in 1835. I, pp. 210-11.

art Thou in all Thy ways!" He shifted to Broad Hembury and held along with it the vicarage of Sheldon.

Deserts his Flock—But he craved for a more emotional congregation than he could find in Devonshire country villages, so he abandoned his flock in 1775 and went to London without resigning his livings, which he never again visited. In London he would find sheep to pasture with more wool on their backs. He was taken up by Lady Huntingdon and could command her purse. Early in 1776 he hired the meeting-house of the French Calvinists in Orange Street, Leicester Square, for Sunday and Wednesday evenings and began preaching there on 11 April.

Rock of Ages—His famous hymn, "Rock of Ages cleft for me," first appeared in the *Gospel Magazine* of October, 1775. It was written in a fit of controversial heat with Wesley, who in return composed "Jesus, lover of my soul." Mr. M. T. Stead makes the following reference to this theological quarrel: "Toplady was a sad polemist whose orthodox soul was outraged by the Arminianism of the Wesleys, and he put much of his time and energy into the composition of controversial pamphlets, on which the good man prided himself not a little. The dust lies thick upon these his works, nor is it likely to be disturbed now or in the future. But in a pause of the fray, just by way of filling up an interval in the firing of the polemical broadsides, Toplady thought he saw a way of launching an airy dart at a joint in Wesley's armour; so, without much ado, and without any knowledge that it was by this alone he was to render permanent service to mankind, he sent off to the *Gospel Magazine* the hymn, 'Rock of Ages.' He had no conception of the relative importance of his own work. But to-day the world knows Toplady only as the writer of these fine verses. All else that he laboured over it has forgotten, and, indeed, does well to forget." Toplady published one hundred and seventeen hymns. With the exception of "Rock of Ages" none rise above mediocrity, such as might be attained by any half-educated postman in a village, whose sole notion of poetry consists in the jingling of rhymes.

His Extreme Calvinism—Messrs. Skeat and Miall say of

Toplady : " Of all Christian controversialists he is the most unfavourable specimen. More Calvinistic than Calvin himself he took pleasure in expatiating on the severest doctrines of the great reformer, and he was as furious as a goaded bull with his adversaries." Whenever he preached he generally records how that it was with great satisfaction to himself. " I preached for forty minutes with great ease to myself, and with great strength, readiness, and distinctness. It was a blessed season to my own heart." He was not at ease unless surrounded by admirers and sympathizers. He wrote relative to Hembury : " I can truly say that my lot has never hitherto been cast among a people so generally ignorant of Divine things and so totally dead to God. I know of but three persons in all this large and populous parish on whom I have solid reason to trust, a work of saving Grace is begun, and these are Mrs. Hutchins, James William Taylor, and Joan Venn."

One would have supposed that as a good shepherd he would have laboured to rouse his people to spiritual things, but instead of that, like the hireling of the Gospel, he fled them.

Conyers—Another shining light of the Early Evangelical Movement was Richard Conyers, Vicar of Helmsley, in Yorkshire, thought much of in his own religious circle, but too insignificant to have been afforded a notice in the D.N.B. Conyers fell into terrible fits of despondency, being unable to assure himself of his " calling and election." Upon his death, Newton preached a sermon, in which he said : " Through the agitation of his spirits he spent his days, and almost every hour, in trepidation and alarm. The slightest incidents were sufficient to fill him with fears which, though he knew to be groundless, he could not overcome."

Excellent men were the brothers Joseph and Isaac Milner. The latter was far from being narrow in his interests. He read Swift, Cervantes, Fielding, and Richardson, and was fond of athletic sports, even boxing, after he was in Orders. He was made Dean of Carlisle, and distinguished himself as a preacher. Paley, no mean authority, wrote : " I told the Bishop of Carlisle, that

about the Evangelical doctrines themselves I must leave him to judge, but that, if he chose to hear them urged with great ability, and placed in the most striking point of view, he must go and hear our dean."

VII

RESULTS

Why would'st thou be a breeder of sinners ?

Hamlet, III, 1.

WE have seen, and have gladly acknowledged, the enormous amount of good accomplished by the Evangelical Fathers ; how that they purified Society, or, at all events, shamed it into outward decency. But almost every good has its compensating evil, and the evil produced by the Evangelical Movement was due, not to the Fathers themselves, but to the faultiness of their " Gospel."

No men, except Peter Schlemihl, are without their shadows, and the stronger the light they stand in, the more conspicuous is the shadow they cast. Of late years the successors of these worthy men have dropped out of the sunshine, into nooks provided for them by the Church Association and the Simeonite Trustees, where they become overgrown with mildew, and cast no perceptible shadows, or else have so considerably altered their methods as to resemble old-fashioned orthodox.

We shall have now to consider certain grave consequences of the system and practice of the Evangelical Fathers, due to the falseness, rather than the inadequacy of their teaching.

Gwen of the Three Breasts—Gwen Teirbron, a Welsh Saint, settled in Brittany, had three sons, Winwaloe, Guethenoc, and Jacob ; and she was furnished by nature with three breasts—from which fact she derived her name—so that she was able to suckle all three babes simultaneously resting on her lap. A statue of her thus furnished is to be seen at S. Venec, near Quimper, her breasts represented as bursting with milk.

Evangelicalism was the Gwen Teirbron of the Anglican Church, nourishing together her offspring—Dissent, Romanism, and Infidelity.

One regrets to have to make such a charge, but it is substantiated by facts, as we shall show.

The two Schools of Evangelicalism : Calvinistic and Lutheran—Mr. T. Mozley was brought up, and for years lived in a cloud of Calvinistic Evangelicalism. He wrote :

“ In early life I heard the frequent reiteration of the doctrine that the whole world lay in darkness, that human nature was wholly corrupt, that there was no safety, true life or real existence, except in some recondite notions and inner sensations. A man might be the very model of what are commonly esteemed virtues, whether in public or in private life ; he might make the greatest sacrifices for the good of his country and the moral improvement of those about him, and yet be all the time theologically reprobate, a miserable creature, the foredoomed heir of eternal perdition.

“ Such notions are an atmosphere which you may struggle against, but cannot help breathing. You may exhale it, but you must inhale it, and something must remain in you. When the belief extends in many forms you only shake off one to find yourself under another. It is projected upon the imagination from undeniable facts, and you walk as in a bog, not knowing whether your next step will be on solid ground, or into an abyss.

“ There really prevailed an idea that goodness, in the merely moral sense, was worse than badness, as being more responsible for being what it was and no more. Hence the saying that ‘ the greater the sinner the greater the saint,’ and the extreme desire to make out that S. Paul had been what is commonly understood as a very wicked man.

“ It became a very serious question how such ideas could possibly take root and rise up and fill the land, and how the regular operations of human industry, which the Hebrew poets could unreservedly class with the grandest works of God, could ever be regarded as bad to their very heart and grain, good for nothing—in the theological sense, detestable.

“ You may be playing a simply worldly game, you may be cruel, greedy, avaricious, extortionate ; you may be accumulating a huge fortune ; you may be pandering to power for place, rank, titles and dignities ; yet, if you can pronounce this talisman, whenever called upon, you are right, you are good, you are on the safe side for ever. If you cannot ; if you do but falter, then no virtue whatever of saint or hero will make so much as take you out of the category of the utterly and unredeemably bad. There you are, and must remain.”¹

Mr. Mozley, from his own account, was brought up under the teaching of a Calvinistic parson ; but, although the majority of the Evangelicals were infected with this form of doctrine, there existed as well another, that embraced the Lutheran tenets as propounded by Wesley ; and there was noticeable a third in which the two dogmas were mashed up together.

The practical results were much the same. With a few exceptions, the emotional Evangelicals preached Free Justification, and the colder and more intellectual—or such as thought they were more intellectual—propounded Election.

In 1799, Scott, the Commentator, wrote : “ A tendency to Antinomianism is the bane of Evangelical preaching in this day.”²

The strange thing is that these excellent men did not perceive that it was their doctrine which led, if carried into practice, direct to Anomia.

Three phases of Evangelicalism—The Evangelical Movement went through three phases that overlapped. The first was but the revival of the Spiritual or Mystic in personal religion, that had never been wholly absent from the English Church. Of this we have spoken. The second phase was when the Evangelical clergy were captured by either Wesley or Whitefield, who led them very much by the nose, and used them as suppliers of converts and missionaries to fill their chapels. This is a point to be further considered. The third phase ensued when the shock of the French Revolution and the Terror made itself felt, and the Low Church Clergy

¹ Mozley (T.), *Reminiscences*, 1885, II, p. 81.

² *Life*, 1822, p. 348.

discovered that their allies, the Genevan Dissenters, were in full sympathy with the Revolution. This conduced to a mitigation of enthusiasm, and a modification of intercourse ; and to the shrinking back from the extreme principles of Calvinism to a discreet and diluted Augustinianism.

We will deal with the second phase, when Evangelicalism in the Church catered to Dissent outside it, i.e. when Gwen produced the first of her children, and proceeded to suckle it.

The Womb whence sprang the New Dissent—The condition of Dissent at the beginning of the eighteenth century was one of stagnation or of decline. It was estimated that the proportion of Dissenters to Churchmen in 1700 was nearer one to twenty-five, than one to twenty. In 1800 it was computed that the proportion was one to four.

How came this about ? Did the old sects of Presbyterians and Independents suddenly become fruitful mothers of children ? Nothing of the sort. Dissent, like Sarah, had grown old, and it had ceased to be with her after the manner of Sectarianism.

The Puritan party held aloof from the new movement under Whitefield and Wesley. As Stevens said : " Dr. Watts and other great Dissenters forfeited their right to an honourable place in the history of the new movement."¹ Dissent had grown slow of gait, and sober in judgment, and did not relish a frolicsome and boisterous fanaticism. Its ministers expressed disapprobation, not of their doctrine, but of the methods of these enthusiasts. Methodism and the scores of sects that Dissent produced by gemmation—there are at present something like six hundred in the land—were bred originally from the womb of the Evangelical party in the Church of England. They did not spring from the old sects of Unitarians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and Quakers. All these were sterile at the time when Wesley and Whitefield appeared. And both of these were ordained clergy of the Church. The great new outburst of Dissent was the logical outcome of the teaching of the Evangelical School—a fact which many Evangelicals, such as Berridge and Grimshaw, were proud to acknowledge. That these men were thoroughly in earnest in propagating

¹ Philip (R.), *Life and Times of Whitefield*, 1838, c. 5.

their convictions is certain, and quite as certain is it that they were not loyal to the Church of which they were ministers, and in which they were beneficed. And it is equally certain that their doctrine was the reverse of the Christianity hitherto taught, in that it made Salvation to be unconditional, or at all events conditional only on possession of faith ; but to that term Faith they gave a totally unwarranted and false signification. Hitherto the doctrine of the Church had been that all the promises of God made to man were, without exception, conditional on his fulfilment upon his side of a compact, whereby he made profession of faith, and exhibited penitence, love, obedience, and rendered worship.

All these ties the Evangelicals rejected as no longer obligatory. Practically they said: "Let us break their bonds asunder, and cast away their cords from us." With what result we shall see presently. At this point, all we desire to insist on is that the Evangelical party was the mother and nurse of Modern Dissent.

Encouragement of Dissent—The Evangelical incumbents of the second phase regarded their own position as affording them a peculiar advantage, enabling them to turn away the hearts of their people from loyalty to the Mother Church into loyalty to what they were pleased to call "the Gospel," their special scheme of Salvation. As they attached no particular meaning to "the Church" and regarded it not as an entity, a Kingdom, but a mere aggregate of Converted individuals, they could not understand, much less feel, anything approaching to loyalty to the Church. It was not that they were as a body consciously hostile to her ; but that they looked upon the Established Church much in the light of a bran-pie out of which to extract articles of some value, by dipping their hands into it.

Henry Venn warmly encouraged Independency, regarding it as an auxiliary to the Church, and without expectation that it would become antagonistic. In violation of Ecclesiastical law, he continued to preach in Dissenting conventicles, after it had been pronounced illegal. Venn, Vicar of Huddersfield, trained young men to serve in the Independent Ministry. So did the Countess of Huntingdon.

Butt, Vicar of Kidderminster, habitually, in full canonicals, held the plate at the door of the Dissenting conventicles in his parish. Wills, knowing that the Gospel according to Calvin would not be preached in his parish of S. Agnes, in Cornwall, after his departure, sold his family plate to build a Dissenting chapel. A priest named Ingham, placed himself at the head of eighty-four congregations formed on the Moravian pattern, of which all but thirteen left him and became Sandemanians. From Robinson's congregation at Leicester, a hundred at a time would abandon the Church and migrate to Dissent.

The Evangelical Fathers of the English Church, in the second phase of Evangelicalism, were the parents of Dissent. They were one with Wesley and Whitefield for thirty-seven years, running to and fro on the face of the earth, declaring to men that all truth and Salvation (recently imported from Geneva and Wittenberg) were to be found with them, and with them only, and that for such as desired these privileges the Church was no mart, but they were on sale in the Conventicles. Everywhere, in every parish into which they did not penetrate brooded a darkness that might be felt, covering the people. They, and they only carried about with them samples of the light of Goshen. As Philip says : " The progress of Dissent and Methodism keeps pace with the progress of Evangelical sentiments in the Church."¹

When the crisis came in 1777, and the ministry of clergy in Meeting-houses was declared to be illegal, many of the Evangelical leaders ignored the law. Venn, Scott, Berridge, Pontycross, Maturin, Jones, Romaine, Fletcher, Haweis and others of inferior note, continued to preach in Conventicles. These men in doctrine were absolutely at one with the Dissenters in ignoring the Church as a corporate body, and as being the visible Kingdom of Christ upon Earth. What other result could be expected than that their flocks should abandon the Church for Dissent, when the bell-wethers led the way ?

Wales alienated from the Church—If we look to Wales, whither went the ministers trained in the college founded by the Countess of Huntingdon, and where they laboured vigor-

¹ Philip (R.), *Life and Times of Whitefield*, 1838, p. 53.

ously, we learn that before they appeared on the scene, in 1736 there were but six conventicles in North Wales, and not over thirty-five in the whole Principality, where the churches numbered eight hundred and fifty. In 1800, the Evangelical party had succeeded in alienating from the Church the larger portion of the people, and increased the number of chapels from thirty-five to near one thousand. "Counselled by Venn, Whitefield, Berridge, Shirley, etc., tabernacle after tabernacle was built by Lady Huntingdon under the shadow of the Church's walls, in which her ladyship's preachers travestied the Book of Common Prayer, and from the pulpit disparaged the Church's ministry and doctrines. There is no doubt that, had they proclaimed themselves to be schismatics, they would have been shunned; it was only in the character of Churchmen that they could allure the people into these forcing-houses of Dissent. Many may have acted ignorantly; many others, we fear, were too well aware that like the foolish woman in the Proverbs, they were pulling down their house with their hands."¹

Well might Cleaver, Bishop of Chester, in his charge of 1790, characterize these men as those "who sought the orders of our Church with a view to set at defiance her ordinances, to depreciate her ministry, and to seduce her members into unhallowed conventicles under the arrogant and false pretensions of being exclusively Gospel preachers."

Prayer Meetings—One great vehicle employed by the Evangelical Clergy, with the best possible intentions, and with purpose to retain in their Congregations those who were attracted by Dissenting methods, but which actually served to alienate members from the Church, was the institution of Prayer Meetings. These were held in kitchens, barns, school-rooms. The Church service was regarded as lacking in warmth, and these meetings were started, in which men and women promiscuously prayed, harangued, admonished one another, and expatiated upon their own religious experiences. The inevitable result was that, should there ensue outbursts of indecorum and wilfulness, which the

¹ *C. Q. R.*, July, 1877, p. 341. See also Jan., 1878, p. 522; and April, 1878, p. 227. The Bishop of Llandaff attempted to refute the first article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and was answered most effectively in the two minor articles in 1878.

clergy endeavoured to suppress, they were met with defiance; and those who had taken part in these irregular services, relishing the excitement, and the opportunities they offered for self-advertisement, if not allowed their own way altogether, abandoned the Church and became Methodists.

Thomas Scott, the Commentator, when after Newton, he became Curate of Olney, found the Prayer Meetings, instituted by his predecessor, to be in full swing. He had cause for disapproval, and it was due to their unruliness, and to the impossibility of putting them down, that he lost heart and quitted Olney.

Shebbeare—In 1815, a certain Evans, a Welshman, was Curate of Shebbeare in North Devon. He was a strong Calvinist. He removed the beautiful carved-oak rood-screen from the Church, "as a protest against symbolical, as distinguished from real worship." Finding that the neighbouring clergy sympathized neither with his opinions nor with his proceedings, he called to his aid Craddock Glascott, Lady Huntingdon's itinerant preacher at Hatherleigh. Their combined exertions were rewarded by the conversion of a well-to-do Mrs. Thorne. She fell in with an ex-Wesleyan Minister, named O'Brian, who was roaming the country preaching on his own account, and advocating doctrines of his own devising. She built a chapel at Shebbeare, and often officiated in it herself.

Brianites, or Bible-Christians—Her son, J. Thorne, whom she had confided to O'Brian to be trained for the ministry, founded the sect of Brianites or Bible Christians, at present widely spread over Devon and Cornwall. At Shebbeare is now a college for one hundred and twenty pupils of that denomination, and four dissenting chapels, though the population including the collegians is under eight hundred and forty souls. All this can be traced back to the teaching of the curate Evans.¹

Increase in Dissent. Encouragement by the Evangelicals—We know what were the statistics of Nonconformity before the Evangelical movement began, and what they were afterwards. Although we cannot attribute the enor-

¹ The son of John Gammon, former Governor of Shebbeare College, seceded to Rome. A pupil, and later, member of the College Council, Mr. W. B. Luke, J.P., has also joined the Church of Rome.

mous increase in Dissent solely to the Evangelical Clergy in the Church, it was largely due to them both in and outside, for Wesley and Whitefield were both ordained priests, and the Venns, Berridges, Grimshaws, Newtons and a thousand others who remained within the pale, shook hands with, kissed through a chink in the wall, and wished best success to those without it.

Take Olney as an instance of the result of Evangelical teaching under Newton for sixteen years. "It swarmed," says Scott, "with Antinomians. The professors of the Gospel were Dissenters. I had to attempt to raise a new congregation in opposition to the Antinomianism and Anti-churchism which prevailed. In a population of two thousand five hundred, often not one hundred got together on a Sunday morning until the end of the service, and half these from other places." And Scott himself, by his own confession, did little better.

Or again Helmsley, in Yorkshire, where Conyers had been a burning and a shining Evangelical light. The population was about two thousand, and he was there from 1756 to 1776. He died in 1786. In April, 1802, a correspondent wrote to William Wilberforce: "Such is the declension among Dr. Conyer's old hearers, that there is not above one house in the town where family prayer is kept up. The fallen state of the town ought to warn congregations in the Established Church who are deprived of Evangelical pastors, against the evil of Dissent. The Helmsley people, impatient with Dr. Conyers' successor, built a Dissenting meeting-house, and crowded it in shoals. After many vicissitudes of preachers and preaching, it is shut up, and the people go nowhere, contenting themselves with railing at formal ministers and blind guides."

It was so everywhere—where was a church with an Evangelical minister in it, up about it sprang fungoid growths of conventicles as a matter of course.

In justice to Venn and others of the party, it must be allowed that they were aghast at the fruits of their own teaching. Gwen looked on her new-born offspring, and did not like its appearance. It was ugly, it was deformed. But she could not repudiate it as not her own flesh and blood.

What could the Evangelicals do if they desired it, to stay the efflux from the Church? They could not call on men to obey the Church; for they themselves had taught men to despise her authority, and to look on her as a carcass from which the spirit of life had fled. Their coalition with Non-conformists had stopped their mouths. After having been slobbering about these sectaries, they could not at once show them the cold shoulder. They could not even oppose a united front to the hosts of tumultuous sectaries starting up all around them, and laying claim to sonship. And these sects were biting and snapping at one another. "We really want love," wrote Romaine. "The Foundry, the Tabernacle, the Lock, the Meeting, yea S. Dunstan's, hath each its party, and brotherly love is lost in disputes." On one thing only were these sects agreed, on pouring scorn upon the Mother that had bred them.

"At the opening of the nineteenth century the results of the Evangelical movement were fully developed. It had reanimated the old denominations; it had filled their chapels; it had supplied very largely their pulpits; and in addition it had called into existence a multitude of novel sects. Dissent was enormously strengthened by the numerous secessions; the sectaries were increased from four per cent of the population to nearly twenty-five per cent, and the sects multiplied thirty-fold. Can there be a greater delusion than the popular notion that the Evangelicals revived the Church?"¹

Simeon, Venn, Scott, Newton and the rest of the Evangelical party had hoped to lick into shape the cub they had produced, but it was not one cub but a whole litter, and every member of this litter refused to be licked by their mother. Indeed, they professed that it was their mother who was shapeless and should submit to the application of their tongues.

Danger to Morality—There was another consequence following on the teaching of the Evangelicals beside that of breeding of sects. This was the displacement of the centre of gravity of Christianity.

Hitherto, throughout Christendom it had been perfectly

¹ C. Q. R., July, 1877, p. 353.

well understood, even by the least instructed, for it was impressed on every child, that a Christian life consisted in obedience to God's Commandments, and simultaneously in holding fast the Faith. Every man or woman who led an immoral life, who lied and cheated, was aware that he or she was *ipso facto* in self-inflicted outlawry. And every man or woman who denied any article of the Faith, as the Incarnation or the Resurrection, knew that he or she had stepped out of the Baptismal Covenant.

But the teaching of the Evangelicals was other from this. The test of being a child of God and living in His favour was no longer to be found in *Obedience*, but in *Feeling*; and Faith was resolved out of acceptance of certain revealed truths into an emotional self-appropriation of Divine Favour, whatever might be the opinions held as to other theological dogmas beside the Atonement.

Archbishop Sumner on the Evangelical Creed—John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, a typical representative of this school, thus expresses the Evangelical Creed. He asks, relative to man's restoration from a fallen condition, "Is it to be effected by an *intrinsic* process, or to proceed from some foreign and *external* source? Is it to depend on what man is to do in his own person, or on what is wrought for him by another? Further, when David and Manasseh repented and humbled themselves they were forgiven and received into divine favour. They were healed like Naaman for what they did, and without any vicarious process. The Gospel, however, takes a different line"—i.e. from that of requiring repentance and obedience—"the deliverance which it proclaims is altogether *extrinsic*, *not dependent upon what man has done, or is to do*; but is already wrought, and is to be received, not gained, freely conferred, not wrought out by repentance and obedience."

God never reverses His procedure, to be one thing one day and another thing on the morrow. Such is not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who came to fulfil the law—above all the Moral law, and not to make it of none effect. The foundations of the Spiritual life are still laid in repentance and obedience. The contrary, according to Dr. Sumner,

is the divine method of Salvation. The next question is respecting the means whereby deliverance is secured to the parties for whom it is designed. And the reply to this question Bishop Sumner determines thus—that "the benefit is to be obtained by a personal appropriation of the Sacrifice to ourselves. Faith being the secret instrument . . . this is to be justified by Faith," which Faith again, "is *not* a work of obedience, *nor* an act of duty," but a simple "trust."¹

What the Church Teaches—Archbishop Sumner merely echoed what he had heard shouted from Wittenberg; but one might have supposed that he had a conscience which would have forbidden his teaching the exact contrary to that of the Church which furnished him with a palace, a barony, and many thousands of pounds per annum. The teaching of the Church is plainly expressed, not only in the Catechism, which every child must learn, but also in the Baptismal Service, where the child or adult enters into Covenant with God. "I demand: Dost thou (in the name of this child) renounce the devil and all his works," etc.? *Ans.* "I renounce them all." *Min.* "Dost thou believe in God the Father Almighty," etc.? *Ans.* "All this I steadfastly believe." *Min.* "Wilt thou then obediently keep God's holy will and commandments and walk in the same all the days of thy life?" *Ans.* "I will."

If that is not a Covenant of Obedience, of Works, there is no meaning in words.

Archbishop Sumner's definition of Evangelical teaching that man is emancipated from Moral Obligation cannot be disputed as the expression of the Gospel of the Party.

It stands to reason that this displacement of the centre of gravity of Christianity must lead to grave moral results. The Evangelical Fathers neither desired nor expected any such consequences as ensued, any more than does a bush-ranger desire to give rise to the burning of hundreds of square miles of forest by scattering dry grass among the embers of his camp-fire.

Although the Evangelical doctrine, whether Calvinist or

¹ Sumner (J. B.), *A Practical Exposition of the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romans*, 1843, Preface.

Lutheran, does not, formally and in so many words dissociate morality from religion, it tends in that direction, by substitution of feeling for obedience, by dissociating religion from conduct.

Anyone who can persuade himself that he has made his calling and election sure has from him removed all the checks and safeguards imposed by Christianity on his conscience.* He may not be, and probably is not, a sensualist; he may not be, and probably is not, predisposed to exercise the freedom of emancipation from the law, offered him by picking his neighbour's pocket; he even may not yield to be slippery in commercial or trade transactions; but the temptation is danced before his eyes, and, if he lose anything by transgression, he knows that it cannot effect his eternal welfare, no, not even his present relation to God.

Christian Morality Revolutionized—By the substitution of personal feeling for moral obligation to be just in dealing, true in speech, and pure in life, the Evangelicals revolutionized the whole system of Christian morality. They did not intend to do so—true—but nevertheless they did it: yet their own immediate followers did not carry this doctrine into practice. We have already seen what were the admissions of Wesley and Fletcher. Experience has shown that the same results recur inevitably. What else could be expected?

Polwhele, in his *Anecdotes of Methodism*, enumerated a fearful list of deadly sins associated with the preaching of the Evangelical "Gospel," which he vouched for as occurring in his immediate district. He named places and persons, and challenged, in cases of immorality, of preachers and leaders, anyone to refute his statements. But there are black sheep in every flock, and what is to be considered is, not individual fallings away, but the general trend of morality honesty, truthfulness, among such as have accepted the Evangelical teaching. And extreme cases, or rather cases of such as have accepted the doctrine and have taken advantage of the licence it accords them, are not to be found numerous among Evangelical Churchmen, for they retain fibres in their souls of the old Catechetical teaching of the Covenant, or among the worthy middle-class tradesmen in

our towns, hedged about with conventionalities, but rather in our rural districts, as in Wales and Cornwall, and in manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, where the dogmas of Free Justification, Election, and Unconditional Acceptance are gulped down, and prove to be poison. Even where these have been sipped only, not swallowed in long draughts, the result has been a callousness of Conscience that is observable enough.

The Puritanism that overthrew the Church in the seventeenth century was bred out of the loins of the Early Elizabethan Bishops returned from exile on the Continent. And now the New Puritanism, eighteenth and nineteenth century dissent, was the issue of Evangelicism in the Church of England, and was itself a mongrel of foreign elements, of Lutheran and Calvinistic parents.

Disregard of Orders—The Evangelicals gave further help to the spread of Dissent by their disregard for the necessity of commission by Ordination. They were in orders themselves and were beneficed, because they belonged to the Established Church, which exacted of its Ministers that they should have received the imposition of hands. But the Evangelicals regarded with indifference Ordination for other purpose than that. They were quite ready to recognize as valid the ministry of the Foreign Protestant bodies, of the Presbyterians of Scotland, and of Dissenters in England. They agreed with the Independents in acknowledgment of an inward call. The Church exacts that as well, but to this inward call adds the obligation of an outward Call to authorize to minister in the House of God.

This the Evangelicals practically denied or disregarded. So long as a man had or professed to have zeal, he was one divinely appointed to preach the Word and minister to the flock of Christ. In Bickerstaff's play, *The Hypocrite*, Colonel Lambert says to his father: "I would be glad to know by what authority the Doctor pretends to exercise the clerical function. It does not appear to me that he ever was in orders."

To which Sir John Lambert replies: "That is no business of yours, sir. He has the call of zeal." And almost every Evangelical would make the same reply.

The Plymouth Brethren—Perhaps the most significant example of the origin of the sects bred by Evangelicalism, is that of the Plymouth Brethren, because it is the one of her children that carries out her principles most thoroughly to their logical and practical conclusion.

The sect was born in the same decade as that of Irvingism, and as that of the rise of the Oxford Movement. And all three started from the same cause. The religious stir under Wesley, Whitefield, and the clergy of the Evangelical party in the Church had resulted in religious confusion, in a multiplying of sects. Every Tom and Bill, Jane and Sally who had "a psalm, a doctrine, a tongue, a revelation, an interpretation," felt him or herself justified in breaking away from whatever connexion he or she had pertained to, and starting a new sect. A general feeling was entertained that this was not right, and all sought to find some solid ground on which the followers of Christ might meet and enjoy something of the visible unity which characterized them in early days. The Oxford School sought for a basis of unity in reversion to the early principles of the Church in doctrine, worship, and organization. The Irvingites, despairing of existing agencies, proclaimed a second Pentecost and a restored Apostolate.

An Offspring of Evangelicalism—The Plymouth Brethren sought the union of all Christians in the carrying out of the Evangelical principles of Negation and Affirmation to their ultimate and logical conclusions. Hitherto this had been done half-heartedly. They would pursue these principles rigorously. They had no idea of founding a sect. As one of their leaders wrote: "At this time the Lord's purpose is to gather, as well as to save; to realize Unity, not merely in the heavens, where the purposes of God shall surely be accomplished, but here upon earth. . . . The gathering together of all the children of God in one body is plainly according to the mind of God in His Word." And in another pamphlet: "The need of union is felt now by every right-minded Christian. . . . This need is felt wherever the Spirit of God acts." And this union is not to be an invisible Church, but one visible Body. Mr. Darby pertinently says that Christ proclaimed: "Ye are the light of

the world." What, he asks, is the good of a light that is invisible ?

Nevertheless, the Plymouth Brethren did found a sect, and very speedily split into two rival and hostile branches.

But before we enter on the tenets of the sect we will briefly sketch its history.

Its Origin—A Mr. Anthony Norris Groves who had lived for many years in Plymouth settled in Exeter in 1818, where he practised as a dentist. He was a member of the Church of England, strongly imbued with Evangelical opinions, and having formed a resolve to become a missionary he went, in 1828, to Trinity College, Dublin, with a view to preparing for Holy Orders. Here he came to the conclusion that the Church was wrong in many particulars, and he rejected Infant Baptism and the necessity for Ordination to minister the Word and the Sacraments. At Dublin he formed a small society, and before long another at Plymouth, and a third in Bristol. At Plymouth he was joined by the Rev. Benjamin W. Newton, an English clergyman and a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. In 1832 came another important accession to the Society in the person of another clergyman, the Rev. John Nelson Darby, who left Dublin and settled in Plymouth. In 1845 a furious dispute broke out between him and Newton, between the Plymouth and the Bristol Brethren, over an interpretation of Prophecy. Darby professed "the Secret Rapture of the Saints," i.e. that our Lord's coming would be invisible, and that invisibly the Saints would be caught up to meet Him. This Newton denounced as heresy, and the society split into the "Open Brethren" and the "Exclusive Brethren."

We need follow their story no further. We will now consider their tenets.

Its Principles—(1) The Evangelicals had not put any store on Episcopal or even Presbyterian laying on of hands. They vehemently repudiated the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, and had to fall back for their authority on appointment and commission by the State, or else on an Inward Call, thus sharing the opinions of the Congregationalists. Well, said Groves, Newton, and Darby, then

away with all Ministry. Every man is entitled to preach and pray and administer the Sacraments, indiscriminately.

When tested by experience this rejection of authority proved awkward. As every man was competent to preach, certain members were found so diffuse, so tedious and so pertinacious that there was no putting them down. And we find in the writings of the leaders lamentations over the nuisance.

(2) The Evangelicals had taught, "We are not under the Law, but under Grace," but they had with an uncertain voice stated *what* law was no longer binding on the Elect. Let us repudiate *all* Law, said the Plymouth Brethren. In a Paper on "Justification," by Mr. C. Stanley, he says: "I do not find the law ever presented as the rule of Life or walk to the risen child of God." Mr. Mackintosh wrote: "It is evident that the sinner cannot be justified by the works of the law, and it is equally evident that the Moral Law is *not* the rule of the believer's life." Mr. Darby wrote: "The Law has nothing to do with the heavenly life," and again, "When it is said, 'I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' the Law, it is a false deduction to say that I am come to call upon Christians to fulfil it." "The Christian," he says further, "has sin in him as a human being, and alas! fails; and if the Law applies to him he is under a curse." Consequently, the Christian is emancipated from the law. "You cannot be under obligation to Christ, and to the Law." The believer once risen with Christ is freed from all further anxiety about the future; he is in no danger of drawing back to perdition, and under no obligation of working out his own salvation.

(3) The Evangelicals confounded Conversion with Sanctification; but, with the exception of the more extreme men, they hesitated about counselling abandonment of effort to please God. The Plymouth Brethren had no such scruples. They denied that Sanctification was in itself a progressive course. They asserted that it was "an immediate, a complete, an eternal, a divine work." "It is done in a moment." The instant a sinner is united to Christ he is perfectly sanctified. "The Word of God," wrote Mr. Mackintosh, "never once teaches us that the Holy Ghost has for His

object the improvement of our old nature. The Apostle expressly declares that 'the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God,' etc. This one passage is conclusive on the point, for if the natural man can neither receive nor know the things of the Spirit of God, then how can that natural man be sanctified by the Holy Ghost? Other passages might be adduced to prove that the design of the Spirit's operation is not to sanctify the flesh. . . . An utterly ruined thing can never be sanctified."

The old nature being thus incapable of improvement or sanctification, Mr. Mackintosh concludes that sanctification is "not a process," "not a gradual work," "not progressive," but an instantaneous transformation.

It was in vain for Simeon or Venn, Newton, Scott, Grimshaw or Berridge, to say with Leontes: "The brat is none of mine." One can answer truthfully with Paulina:—

It is yours.

And, might we lay the old proverb to your charge,
So like you 'tis the worse. Behold, my lords,
Although the print be little, the whole matter
And copy of the father: eye, nose, lip,
The trick of his frown, his forehead; nay, the valley,
The pretty dimples of his chin and cheek; his smiles;
The very mould and frame of hand, nail, finger:—
And thou, good goddess Nature, which hast made it
So like to him that got it, of thee hast
The ordering of the mind too, 'mongst all colours
No yellow in't.

We come now to Gwen's second Child.

Evangelicalism a Feeder of Rome—If Calvinistic Evangelicalism has been the nursing mother of Dissent, it has also served as a feeder to the Church of Rome.¹ Archbishop Laud was well aware of this phenomenon as patent in his day. It was a recognized fact when Puritanism was triumphant during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, that Popery grew rapidly in numbers. When the Tractarian Movement received a check those who seceded to Popery were with rare exceptions such as had been reared, not at the breasts of Mother Church, but at the dugs of

¹ In the Evangelical Wilberforce family, Samuel, Bishop of Winchester, had three brothers, two brothers-in-law, two sisters-in-law, and his own sister, and finally his daughter and her husband, all of whom seceded to the Roman Church.

Calvin. The same fact has been observed in the United States of America. Dr. C. F. Ewen says, in his *Catholicity, Protestantism, and Romanism*: "Your speaker has a list of the Clerical perversions to Rome that have occurred in the American Church since 1820. There are one or two cases where the early education of those who had been perverted could not be traced and is not known. But with the exception of, perhaps, one other case, in every instance the clergymen who have been perverted were reared in Low Church or Latitudinarian views."

The noticeable feature of the Romeward secessions in the past was that nearly all of those who were most prominent in their abandonment of the Anglican Church had, earlier in life, been prominent for their zeal in the Low Church interest, whereas those who had been reared in the school of orthodoxy did not secede. In confirmation of this assertion we may point out that the principal secessions grouped themselves under two epochs. First, the Newman epoch. The desertion of these persons was ostensibly caused by the circumstances in connexion with the Jerusalem Bishopric. The most prominent among these were *Newman, Ward, Oakeley, Dalgairns, Faber, Sibthorpe*, of whom we have italicized such as were originally prominent as Low Churchmen. The second epoch may be denominated that of Manning, and comprehends those who left the English Church in consequence of the Gorham case. It includes (Low Churchmen being similarly marked) *Manning, Dodsworth, B. Wilberforce, H. Wilberforce, Hope-Scott, Allies, Maskell*. And subsequent to these two periods, if we look to the lists of seceders, even out of Episcopal families, the same law holds good—those who have in the vast majority of cases deserted the English for the Roman Church had been reared in "Evangelical" principles.

That such as have from early days been brought up in full Catholic doctrine and practice in the Church of England, are insensible to the attractions of Rome, is a fact well known to Romish touters for converts. Probably in no part of the British Empire are the Roman Missions so thriving and gathering so rich a harvest as in the Australian diocese of Sydney, which has been long in the hands of a Low

Evangelical clique. The religious statistics of Sydney on 31 December, 1915, were :—

Church of England	356,200
Roman Catholics	185,700
Presbyterians	77,300
Methodists	53,100
Various Protestant denominations	28,800
Protestants of no denomination	22,000
Non-Christians	10,600
No religion	4,600
	<hr/>
	738,300

A clergyman who has been many years in Sydney informs the writer that the recorded number of adherents to the Church of England there cannot be reckoned on as giving a true representation, for many who never go to church will call themselves Members of the Anglican Communion simply because they think it more respectable than one of the sects. As to the 356,200 nominal adherents, one can hardly reckon on more than a few hundred as genuinely convinced Churchfolk. It would be much the same in England. But the Romanists would be certainly sincere and loyal to their Church, and so would be the Wesleyans and Congregationalists to their Societies.

Sydney: Spread of Romanism in it—The following is from a Tasmanian Rector, and is but one out of other communications received from clergy in Southern Australia :

“At Sydney the Romanists command the situation. There is no place in the colonies where they are more in evidence. They have secured all the best positions with very few exceptions. The largest and most imposing buildings (apart from the shops, warehouses and Governmental or Municipal buildings) are almost invariably Roman institutions. There is first of all a Cardinal's palace on the North head as you enter the harbour ; as you approach the city, the most conspicuous edifice is the R. C. Cathedral which dwarfs the cramped little edifice of ours adjoining the Town Hall ; which is valuable as it is one of the few relics of Bishop Broughton, the only true Churchman we ever had. He was succeeded by Bishop Barker, who was a great many years in office. A man of the most rigid Evangelicalism,

without learning or any University distinction whatever ; he has left an indelible stain upon the diocese, and is largely answerable for the extremely low ebb of Church life. He filled the diocese with the most violent Irish Protestants ; his dislike of definite Church doctrine and well ordered services seem to have been his most characteristic point. The one man who could have done anything to have raised the Church from the Slough of Despond in which she has become embedded was Bishop Barry who resigned his see within five years. Had he remained faithful to his trust, in due time I think he would have obtained his desire, like Bishops Kennion and Harmer, late of Adelaide, Moorhouse (Melbourne) and G. A. Selwyn, late of New Zealand. But, what a contrast ! Rome is completely in the ascendant in Sydney. How many are the hospitals, seminaries, Homes of the Little Sisters of the Poor, and kindred institutions I cannot tell you. The present occupant of the see has not improved matters. Indeed, it would well repay the Vatican to subsidise the Sydney Episcopate to continue in its present course, so richly does it contribute towards the success of the Roman Mission. If ever a man for party policy threw away great opportunities, it is the present occupant of the see. Most of the clergy are the product of Moore College, very few of which ever graduate, or have entered the University. This institution, fortunately, is and has been under the control of Churchmen ; but the result is that the most distinguished and best qualified of the clergy invariably seek work in other dioceses. I believe this is the only city throughout the British Empire that holds its Royal Agricultural Show during Holy Week and Good Friday. True the Archbishop annually enters his protest ; but what good is that whilst he himself religiously reserves Lent and Holy Week (incredible as it may seem) for his annual holiday. You may judge then what effect his yearly protest has ! ”

Eventually and inevitably the pure stream of the Living Waters flowing from the East Gate will sweep away all the offal left by these temporary Evangelical squatters, and its sparkling waters will reflect the Glory of God, and nourish vigorous spiritual life. At present Sydney much reminds

one of the miry places and marishes of Ezekiel's vision, given over as not to be healed. But it cannot ever be as it is now. The river of God is irresistible in its onward sweep.

Sydney an Object Lesson—At present Sydney presents an object lesson not to be overlooked, of that Puritanism which in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, as well as subsequently, has been the effectual scarecrow, tricked out in the old battered hat of Calvin, and the rags and tatters of Luther, to frighten away devout Christian souls from such a sour and sterile Anglican patch as that, to pasture in the fragrant beanfields of the Roman Communion, or to pick up what they can in the rank wastes of Dissent.

That Evangelicalism should be a feeder of Rome is clear from four facts :

1. It is imperfect in its presentation of Christianity, and consequently does not meet all the needs of the soul.
2. It is false in some of its main propositions, i.e. on Lutheran Free Justification, on Calvinian Election, and on the Atonement as formulated by Anselm.
3. It is based on Verbal Infallibility of Scripture, a basis unwarranted by Scripture itself, by the Church, by the history of the Canon, and by Common Sense.
4. It has hardly the smallest conception of what is the First Duty of Man, Christian Worship ; for which it has substituted Preachment by man.

Reason for Evangelicalism being a feeder of Rome—As we have already pointed out, nearly all the clergy who seceded to Rome at the time of the secession of Newman and Manning, had emerged from Calvinism. "These men," wrote Mr. Gladstone, "drew scores, ay, hundreds, in their train, and of all these leaders it must be said, that as they proceeded from Oxford (so to speak) to Rome, so they had already marched from Clapham to Oxford."¹

"The Evangelical proper is a man who bounds off into

¹ "The Evangelical Movement" in *The British Quarterly Review*, July, 1879.

spiritualism with an eager and defiant zeal, utterly contemning restraints and checks to what he believes to be the voice of God within himself. He is essentially a law unto himself. His rules are drawn from inward convictions. His religion is entirely subjective. He may or may not move in consonance with outward authority ; but it is not the authority that directs him. His characteristic is individualism. He acts perhaps with a coterie of men like-minded with himself, but he does not act as a member of a body. Even in his joint actions, it will be a union of forces, not a combination. He is still a law to himself, thought his law may coincide with the laws of others. He would think it wrong, nay, impious, to sacrifice opinions to corporate requirements, or in other words, to submit himself to the Church. Now if this be the natural temper of Evangelicalism, it is easy to see how it may prepare the ground for the reception of Romanism. Suppose a conviction intellectually established that Romish pretensions are true, or that Rome offers higher aids to the spiritual life, then a man accustomed to the self-pleasing of Evangelicalism accepts it at a bound. The authority of his own Church is really no bar to him. He believes that he sees the light, and rushing onwards towards it takes no heed of any intervening obstacles."¹

The Third Evangelical Generation—Before that we proceed to account for the birth and bringing up of Gwen's third child, Infidelity, we will pause to give some account of the Third Stage of Evangelicalism. It did not arise out of the extremists of the Second stage ; the men such as Grimshaw, Berridge and Toplady were eschewed by this new party, which was built out of the remnants of the orthodox first stage.

The men of this phase of Evangelicalism did not hob-nob with the Dissenters ; they were attached to the Prayer Book, and content with it as it was, and if they adopted the received Evangelical tenets of man's Corruption, Justification by Faith and Imputed Righteousness, these doctrines were accepted with a large pinch of Common Sense that neutralized their Antinomianism ; they accepted them, but not to act upon them.

¹ *C. Q. R.*, Oct., 1880, p. 136.

Objection to the Religion of Impulse—The representatives of the party were the admirable men of Clapham, the Thorntons, the Wilberforces, the Teignmouths, the younger Venn, and Cunningham of Harrow. The party included merchants, bankers, men of shrewd sense, who mistrusted the rhapsodies of the Emotionalists. Even John Newton had been led by experience to put small confidence in the religion of impulse. He wrote : " I have seen some frozen into mere lifeless images of their former selves ; and some have not even retained a resemblance of what they were. So, I have almost by habit a fear and jealousy over those who are remarkably warm and active at their first setting out."

These men observed the Church's seasons, which those of the Second phase had disregarded ; and they held the Blessed Sacrament in the most reverential awe, and were far removed from Zwinglian opinions thereon. Scott, the Commentator, celebrated the Holy Communion every alternate Sunday at 6 a.m. at S. Margaret's, Lothbury.

They by no means relished the extravagances of the extreme party. Thus Richardson wrote from York in 1808 : " The irregularities of these men have brought many serious inconveniences on us who proceed in an orderly way, by alienating from us the hearts of some of our flock, who are dazzled with the appearance of superior zeal and courage in such characters. Among the vast numbers that are earnest and sincere preachers of the Gospel, there are not many who would be listened to by a correct ear without a mixture of disgust. The evil of schism and its mischievous tendencies are so little perceived and guarded against by the serious clergy, that, on the ground of discipline and order, our title to the character of true Churchmen cannot be vindicated."¹

Richardson accepts the doctrine taught by these " sincere preachers " as " the Gospel," whereas it was the very reverse of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. All that he objected to was their vulgarity and extravagance, and, as well, their leading into schism.

It was the old story over again. The Evangelical clergy

¹ *Wilberforce's Correspondence*, 1840, I, p. 237.

with staidness hoped, like the Elizabethan Puritans, to capture and transform the Anglican Church, and they were disappointed at seeing those with whom they sympathized in doctrine, breaking away and setting up conventicles and societies outside the Church.

On the publication of the Oxford tracts they retreated from this forward position, and devoted themselves mainly to questions of humanity, charity, and missionary enterprise.

After this small divagation from the subject of Gwen's family, we shall now consider her third son, Infidelity. This owed its origin to two main causes :

1. Insistence upon the Verbal Infallibility of Scripture.
2. The doctrines insisted on were opposed to Common Sense, Experience and the Natural Conscience.

We will deal in the first instance with Verbal Infallibility.

Evangelicalism the occasion of Infidelity—Evangelicalism, resting its whole weight upon the Bible as the complete revelation of God's truth, every sentence and every word inspired, presents a surface for successful attack by rationalists, without the power to deflect the weapons of assault. It tosses and rages, with the barbs of criticism in its side, like a bull, or cow rather, in an arena; but cannot rid itself of them. Public speakers in London, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and other large towns, take their stands at street corners, or in the parks, and mercilessly expose what they regard as errors in natural history; the physical and cosmic impossibilities, recorded in the Scriptures, the Prophecies that had apparently failed of accomplishment, the conflict of commands, and the questionable reliability of certain historical statements; so that the faith of many men in the credibility of the Bible is shaken, and then! away goes all Christian belief, having been built on no other foundation. Moreover the question was asked, and could not fail to be asked, What guarantee have we that the Scriptures as issued by the University Press, Oxford, that of Cambridge, or by Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, New Street Square, E.C., are the genuine productions which they are pretended to be?

Forgeries—Even in S. Paul's own lifetime, forged letters, as if from himself were in circulation, as he tells us (2 Thess. ii. 2), which obliged him to put his signature to his own genuine epistles. But this guarantee would avail only that Church to which the letter was addressed, and authenticate but one single copy. Who was to say whether, say, epistles addressed nominally to the Laodiceans, circulating in Africa or in Rome, were genuine or spurious? Nor was this all; sayings as by the Apostle, which he had never uttered, passed from one to another, and were accepted as current doctrine (Romans iii. 8).

With a Christian and a Jewish literature teeming with forgeries, false Gospels, false Epistles, false Prophets, false Apocalypses, along with such as were genuine, it stands to reason, that some Authority must have been provided with the right to discriminate, to sift the chaff from the wheat. Without such an Authority the Christians would be tossed on a sea of doubt, a prey to every heretic, uncertain as to where they should find the truth; what they should believe, what do. The Jew had the Rabbis to settle for him the canon of the Old Testament; it was indispensable that the Christians should possess an authorized power to say to them: This is genuine, and that is spurious; put the latter into the fire.

As S. Luke informs us, there were "many who had taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us." We are made aware that there were in existence numerous more or less reliable "reminiscences" of Our Lord's acts and words. The career of Christ was not, as S. Paul could fearlessly assert (Acts xxvi. 26), "done in a corner," but in the face of the world; and the witnesses of the facts were accordingly many. Every believer who had seen Him minister, or heard Him discourse, had his testimony to bear as to what he had heard Him say or seen Him do. And such witnesses would not be content with oral testimony, they would commit it to writing. Every such rill of personal recorded recollections must have trickled into the great reservoir of the teaching of the Church, and have counted for what it was worth in the gradual formation of a traditional belief in the facts of

Our Lord's life and of His doctrine. But such testimony was liable to adulteration, to corruption, by the introduction of incidents more or less fanciful, and thus become untrustworthy. In the Apocryphal Gospels that survive we see this deterioration in its last stage.

A Discriminating Authority needed—But, how were Christian people to distinguish the facts from the fictions, the true doctrine from that which was feigned? Some authority was absolutely necessary to discriminate, to sort out the true from the fabulous. And that authority was the Catholic Church. But for this authority, we might now be cumbered with the Gospels of the Nativity, of Nicodemus of Pseudo-Matthew, and the Protevangelium, held long in high repute.¹

This authority, Christendom held to be lodged in the Church; and held, moreover, that the Church, as a body, was divinely inspired so to speak, so to discriminate.

Oh! we do not believe in a Church guided into all Truth!

Very well. Where do you stand?

The Church does not guarantee more than that the facts contained in the Creed, and all things necessary for salvation are to be found in Holy Scripture. That is all. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." This is all that is said in the Sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles. Not a word about the historical or natural-history statements, the prophecies, the chronology, and other points objected to. If Evangelicals

¹ The *Protevangelium* purporting to have been written by S. James, embodies the earliest popular traditions with which we are acquainted. It was certainly written by a Jewish Christian. It shows no traces of a polemical character, in its straightforward narrative; and exhibits a knowledge of localities and of Jewish usages. It was held in very high respect. As we have it, it has undergone interpolations that are easily recognizable. It is from this work that are derived the names of Joachim and Anne as the parents of the Blessed Virgin; and it is the earliest extant testimony to her perpetual Virginity.

The other Apocryphal Gospels we possess are very much later, and different in character. S. Amphilochius, Archbishop of Iconium (374-94), the friend of S. Basil, wrote a book, unhappily lost, on the forgeries passed off on the Christians, of works purporting to be of Apostolic origin.

will make demands on it for more than they are authorized to ask, they must take the consequences.

Peter the Great was so desirous that the children of his mariners should become true "salts," that he ordered the mothers to bring up their offspring on sea-water in lieu of milk. The consequence was that they died by scores. The Evangelicals, by rearing their families, and the young of their congregations, on Calvinism which consists of three parts Biblical, infallible, verbal texts, and one part only morality, have had the humiliating experience of finding in too many cases that the rising generation of their "believers" are dead or dying to all religion.

The Nemesis of Faith—Froude, in his *Nemesis of Faith*, 1849, shows us how that his own faith was shipwrecked by being tied to the Evangelical conception of the Bible as the infallible oracle of God in Morals and in History, and Natural Science. And he presents to us a picture of his experiences, his doubts, his despair, at finding the ground he stood on give way under his feet, leaving him nothing to lay hold upon. And this has been the mental and spiritual conflict that has been undergone by tens, nay, by hundreds of thousands who had been brought up on belief that every word of Scripture was dictated by the Holy Ghost. If men will use an instrument designed for a certain purpose to serve some other, quite different, they run the risk of cutting their fingers.

Hutchinsonianism—John Hutchinson (*d.* 1737), steward to the Duke of Somerset, and author of *Man's Principia* 1724, carried the notion of the verbal inspiration of Scripture to a last extreme, inviting a reaction. He taught that the Bible was a compendium of knowledge, containing within its covers everything that it was necessary for man to know. Hutchinson even repudiated the Newtonian system of the Universe as not in accord with Scripture; and he pointed triumphantly at the fossils in the rocks as certain evidence of the Flood. He would not allow that any Natural Religion or Moral Law was seated in the soul of man. No religion could exist that was not based on the Scriptures. The Evangelicals following Hutchinson taught that the words of the Bible, in the exact and literal sense, were the very words

of God ; that they form the voice, the only voice by which the silence between Heaven and Earth has been broken. They were not scholars ; the critical study of the sacred text was in its infancy, and they were very poorly equipped intellectually. They lacked the foresight that they were inviting a Nemesis.

The use made of Scripture by the Fathers—The ancient Fathers of the Church quoted Scripture abundantly as authoritative to prove that the Faith they taught was the same as that which had formed the basis of Apostolic instruction. Irenæus points out in his Letter to Florinus how that both as youths had sat at the feet of Polycarp. “I can even describe the place where he used to sit and discourse, and how he would speak of his familiar intercourse with John, and with the rest of those who had seen the Lord, and how he would call their words to remembrance.” Irenæus was confident that he remembered exactly what had been the teaching of Polycarp, and if Florinus questioned this, then let him refer to the epistles of that bishop and martyr and see whether his (Irenæus’s) recollection of Polycarp’s doctrine was not substantiated by the martyr’s writings.

This was the line adopted by the Fathers in their Controversies with the Heretics. They said, in effect : Such is the doctrine of the Catholic Church, such is the sacred deposit of the Faith confided to her. Do you dispute this ? Look at the writings of the Apostles and Evangelists and see whether our teaching be not identical with theirs.

So also, in later ages, the appeal is made, not only to Scripture, but also to the ancient Fathers, for the same purpose, to show that the Catholic faith is inviolate, is always the same as taught by the Apostles, and as taught by the Fathers, one continuous stream. What is not in Scripture, not in the Fathers, is not of the Faith.

Fear of the Scriptures by the Church of Rome—We can now see how reasonably nervous the Papal Church was, and how prudently she dreaded an appeal to Scripture. We can see also how studious she was to mutilate the writings of the Fathers by insertion of passages in support of claims and doctrines of which the writers had never dreamt. The very quotations from them admitted into the Breviary

were in some cases altered to make their doctrine square with Romanism.

Their use at the Reformation—At the Reformation the value of the Sacred Scriptures was recognized at once as revealing the departure of the Latin Church from Apostolic Christianity. And before very long it was discovered as well that she had tampered with the testimony of the Fathers, but this had been done so clumsily that the hand of the falsifier was easily detected.¹ That, moreover, she had forged a whole series of Decretals to establish the claims of the Papacy. It was not that the Latin Church had cast away any of the sacred deposit ; from that she had never swerved, but she had overlaid the fundamental truths with “wood, hay, stubble.”

Their Misuse—But the reading of the Scriptures, without knowledge and without judgment, brought about certain evils. On the assumption that every sentence, every word, every letter had been dictated by the Holy Ghost, that the Apostles had been mere automatic machines set in motion by the Almighty to pen His message to men, everyone assumed the right to interpret the text as he chose. First of all he formed his own opinion as to what God ought to have revealed, and the Divine Spirit ought to have indited, and then he proceeded to find corroborative texts in the Bible to prove his opinions to be true Gospel. We have but to look into Calvin's or Luther's writings, or any Protestant controversialist's works, English or foreign, to see that this was so. The Ancient Fathers had quoted Scripture to show that what they taught had been taught by the Church from the beginning. The Protestant theologian quoted Scripture to substantiate his own private opinions. Reason, the tradition of the Church, the plain sense as shown by the context, were all cast aside. No man inquired as to what was the original meaning of the words he quoted, no man

¹ Mosaics have had to be accommodated to altered views. In the nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore, Rome, are a series of mosaic pictures of scenes from the Old and New Testaments, date A.D. 440. One of these represented Christ on a throne approached by the Wise Men with their offerings. Behind stood the Virgin, without a nimbus. This has been altered, and she has been placed on the throne and has been provided with a nimbus. Hemans, *Ancient Christian Art*. Even frescoes in the Catacombs have been similarly adapted. Hare (A. J. C.), *Walks in Rome*, I, p. 436.

asked whether the words he quoted were applicable to the purpose for which he employed them, no man asked whether these words were such as had been originally employed. All that every controversialist wanted was to make use of them to serve his own purpose.¹

Consequently Scripture was no longer employed to support Tradition, but was used to subvert it ; no longer to buttress up the Universal Faith, but to undermine it.²

Points to be Considered in Scriptural Interpretation—Two points to be taken into consideration in reference to Biblical appreciation are these :—

(1) That on the supposition that the Scriptures are God's Communications to men there is necessarily accommodation to man's receptive capacity. In common speech we cannot be absolutely truthful. We say that the sun rises and sets, whereas it does neither. It remains stationary. It is the earth that rotates on its axis and produces the phenomenon of rising and setting. We speak of the sun being hotter in summer than in winter. It is no such thing. The sun appears to vary in its heat according to the angle at which its rays impinge on the earth.

Accommodation—Not only is Scripture accommodated to man's understanding, but also it is expressed according to the fashion of the time when, and of the people to whom, it was addressed. The Oriental mode of expression is figurative and symbolic, in a manner entirely different from English and Teutonic modes of utterance. Consequently passages in the Scriptures have not invariably to be taken literally.³

Adulteration—(2) Throughout creation, and in all God's

¹ The great German preacher, Gesler v. Kaysersberg, at the close of the fifteenth century said, " Holy Scripture is a nose of wax which every man can twist into any shape he likes."

² What has been said applies to Scripture used controversially and not for edification. But even the ethic teaching may be, and has been, perverted by false rendering of the Greek of the writings of S. Paul.

³ As one out of a thousand instances of *Accommodation* in the time of man's ignorance, take Psalm xxiv, 2. (See also Psalm cxxxvi, 6.) " He hath founded it (the earth) upon the seas, and established it upon the floods." It was the general belief of antiquity that the solid earth floated upon the waters. S. Chrysostom adduces as an evidence of the Providential government of the world, that, whereas a pebble dropped into the water sinks, yet the earth that rides upon the waves, is miraculously upheld from sinking, though made up of masses of rock. (" The Statues," *Hom.*, IX, 7.)

dealings with man, there is a qualifying element. In the air we breathe is azote, an element uncondusive to life, if not absolutely, in its proper nature, destructive of it. Yet the azote is not only an ingredient of the air we breathe, but is a condition of its respirability. So, also, in food ; pure unmixed nutritiousness is not only unattainable in the abstract, but all food, to be practically nutritious, must contain some parts that do not redound to nourishment. Archbishop Whately said that whatever was provided for popular instruction must have a certain amount of inferior matter associated with that which is priceless, just as bran is given with the oats to a horse lest he should bolt the latter.

The Early Fathers were well aware of this inferior ingredient in the Scriptures, and they quoted a saying of Our Lord, not included in the canonical Gospels ; and this they associated with the caution given by S. Paul to prove all things. The saying attributed to Christ was, " Be ye wise money-changers." That is to say, all the sayings given as spoken by God are to be tested, whether they ring true. And this which was necessary then, when so many Apocryphal Gospels and Apocalypses were in circulation, is needful at the present day with reference to historical and natural history statements in the Bible ; they must be tested before acceptance as absolutely true, by science and criticism.¹

The Basis of Belief—That which seems obvious enough from the narratives of the Gospels and of the Acts is as follows :—

- i. That the Baptist, as precursor, announced that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand : an announcement the Jews would understand of the setting up of

¹ A few out of a thousand figurative expressions may be instanced. Take Deut. iv, 24 : " The Lord thy God is a consuming fire." This might be quoted by a Parsee as favouring Zoroasterism. Anthropomorphic expressions relative to God abound. There is mention made of His face, His right hand, His fingers, His eyes, His ears, His feet, His eyelids, His back parts, His nostrils, His breath, His sense of smell. There is practically no difference between verbal and pictorial anthropomorphic representations of the Almighty. If it be permissible, if indeed Scripture proposed to us to figure Him as " the Ancient of Days," there can be no possible harm in so representing Him pictorially, although it may be objected to as inexpedient.

the Kingdom of the Messiah ; and that Christ in His teaching and His parables dwelt on the same assurance.

2. That during the Forty Days after the Resurrection He was with His Apostles teaching them relative to that same Kingdom.
3. Which Kingdom, though in the world but not of the world, He then founded.
4. That He breathed on His Apostles, conferring on them the faculty of remembering those things which He had taught. And this was to continue till the end of time, so that in the Kingdom He founded His teaching would be remembered and inculcated.
5. That He gave His Apostles divine authority. "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you."
6. That He gave them commission to spread His Kingdom throughout the world. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."
7. That He gave to the Apostolate, or guides of His Kingdom, the Holy Ghost to lead them into all truth, so as to accommodate their mission to various conditions of mankind and time, without any variation of essential truths.
8. That He promised permanency to the Kingdom He then founded. "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

This, then, is the basis of Christian confidence. The Church is Christ's Kingdom assured of the truth and assured of permanency. Holy Scripture serves as illustration to the facts and the truths taught in the Kingdom.

The position is quite logical and is according to history. We know that the Church preceded the publication of the Gospels, and that the Church used the Scripture to illustrate the truths it was authorized to proclaim. Scripture is the child of the Church, not its Father. This is fact, not theory.

In fact, the primitive Apostolic Church was not founded on any writings, but on the doctrine, constitution, and

worship formulated by the Apostles before ever a line of the Gospels was written.

Human Depravity—It was not solely insistence on verbal infallibility—on the assertion that every sentence, every word, every letter in Scripture came from dictation by the Holy Ghost, that exposed a surface to attack, but quite as serious was the doctrine insisted on of the total depravity of human nature, devoid of any fibre of good ; as also the dogma of a Scheme of Salvation, such as that upon which both the Dissenting preachers and the Evangelical clergy laid supreme stress, till their Calvinistic theology has so saturated the minds of the people that it has become popularly identified with Christianity itself. It would be difficult to mention any doctrine which has taken so strong a hold on the popular mind as that of the Total Ruin of Man's Nature. It is the one idea preached from innumerable Nonconformist pulpits, which is ever uppermost in the religious mind, yet it is not the teaching of the Christian Church which holds that man inherits much of his divine Creator. And it is upon the assertion and acceptance of 'the assertion that human nature is a mass of rottenness that the whole super-structure of Evangelicalism is reared, much as the palace of Mæcenas was founded and built up on the puteals or pits filled with the stinking carcasses of slaves.

God knows, and we ourselves know, if we enter into our own hearts, that there is much that is corrupt therein, but also that along with the corruption exist the germs of life.

An Evangelical on Human Depravity—The following quotation is from a book by an ultra-Evangelical, but one who had not sacrificed his common sense at the altar of John Calvin, yet who had echoed with approval the saying of Augustine, "Of our own we possess nothing but Sin."

The writer exhibits a feeling that members of his theological school had been somewhat intemperate in their preaching on the complete corruption of human nature.

"In the first place call to mind the statements commonly made on the subject of the depravity of human nature, and I am sure you will agree with me that many of them are, at least, extravagant and injudicious. It has been asserted that there is, originally, in every heart the disposition to

commit every possible sin, and an absolute hostility to everything really good and holy. Man is represented as a creature, all whose mental and moral qualities are intrinsically evil, only fit for evil, and only employed for evil. Let me read to you two or three passages from the published sermons of a late most eminent preacher : ‘ The pests and the greatest ornaments of society when you come to analyse their principles are under the influence of one disposition—they all glory in this, in discarding God ; they hate Him more than they do the disgusting wretch who is loathed,’ etc. And again : ‘ I do not mean to say that there are not many amiabilities in the members of civil society ; but, mark me ! you will find the loveliest of these amiabilities in the brute creation.’ And a little further on, in the same sermon, ‘ We hear a great deal of human friendship ; human friendship, without the Grace of God, I boldly assert, is *inferior* to the friendship of a dog.’ In another sermon he says : ‘ What are we in a state of nature ? My brethren, we declare the whole truth, we are *devils incarnate*.’ The object of such sweeping and violent assertions is, I suppose, to convince people of sin. But what is the actual effect of them ? Many can appeal to their consciences and to the knowledge of others, that what the preacher states is very far beyond the truth, and so they either reject the doctrine altogether or conclude that as this dreadful description does not apply to themselves they must be in a state of conversion and grace.”¹

The writer, although a strongly prejudiced man, was possessed of sufficient intelligence to bring this doctrine to the test of experience, and to convince himself that it was not true. And he saw further that the preaching of this dogma as “ The Gospel ” sent the hearers starting aside into Pelagianism, or subsiding into Self-righteousness.

Arbitrary Use of Scripture—What is conspicuous in the writings of Calvin and the sermons of Evangelical divines is the arbitrary use made of Scripture. Texts that they dislike and which jar with their teaching are set aside. The Rev. Emmanuel Palmer-worm, preaching from the Gospel for the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity—“ Take no

¹ *The Rector in Search of a Curate*, by a Churchman, 1843, pp. 88-90.

thought for your life what ye shall eat, or for your body what ye shall put on"—is compelled to qualify the words, because he has just sealed an order to Messrs. Christie for a silk hat, and to Messrs. Phillips for patterns of cloth for a new suit. Moreover, he had impressed on his wife that very day at breakfast to obtain juniper berries, ale, and treacle for the pickling of a green ham he bought on Saturday. The Rev. Mr. Palmer-worm is ready to accommodate the sayings of Christ to what is practicable, but the extreme statements of S. Paul, or of the Prophets, when they suit his purpose, are taken *au pied de la lettre*.

Moreover, these men tear away a passage from the context that applied to Jews in a certain condition from six hundred to a thousand years before Christ, and treat it as applicable to English people in a country town at the present day. Because God said in Jeremiah, "I shall put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me," therefore Indefectible Grace is assured to Mrs. Thompson, the green-grocer; Miss Brown, the clear starcher; and Mr. Smith, of the glass and china shop in Fore Street, Puddletown.

Calvin (*Inst.* II, c. 5) complains of "the immense heap of passages (from Scripture) which the enemies of divine grace are in the habit of piling up that they may thereon erect their statue of Free Will." He simply sweeps aside all such passages as contravene his doctrine, and throws his whole weight upon those which serve his purpose.

Beside Verbal Infallibility there are other doctrines of the Evangelicals—constituting their scheme of Salvation which are so open to dispute, so contradictory to the facts of life, and to Natural Religion, that they have been provocative of scepticism.

With regard to Vicarious Sacrifice we have already said sufficient.

Mode of Salvation—Again, the Evangelical Scheme of Salvation is objectionable.

The Mode of Salvation is represented by the Evangelicals as something in the light of a Commercial Transaction. There have been two such Covenants, as we have seen from the statement of Bishop Sumner (p. 286). The one of

Obedience, or Works, the other of Free Grace. In the first, God promised Eternal Life to man on condition of his Obedience to the Divine Will, but by breaking the Covenant he incurred eternal ruin. By the second, in virtue of the perfect satisfaction of Christ, God offers, *unconditionally*, pardon, acceptance, and eternal life to the Elect, who are thereby emancipated from the law of Obedience. They must lie on a back-board and be treated as stricken with paralysis.

Faith—Another item in Evangelical teaching is mischievous. It concerns Faith ; and the man of plain common sense is quick to discern its mischievous tendency. S. Cyril, in his Catechetical Lectures, described Faith as twofold. It consists in the first place in *assent* to the Gospel, in the second place it is *operative* in the regeneration of man. But, according to Evangelical teaching, so called, it is nothing of the sort ; it consists in the personal application by the individual to himself of God's promise of acceptance through Christ. As to good works of operative Faith, the Christian is not to trouble himself therewith, for so to do would be a faithlessness in the Atonement.

The Judgment of the Practical Man—The plain common-sense man, hearing such a doctrine preached from the pulpit says : " It does violence to my common sense ; and Christianity, I take it, is not intended to outrage what Natural Religion has taught one's heart and head, but to harmonize with it. It is," says he, using a vulgar expression—for the common-sense man is given to express himself tersely and vulgarly—" all rot."

The plain common-sense man, hearing this doctrine declaimed, and seeing that the converted man in too many cases is an obnoxious prig in the workshop and a tyrant in home, and slippery in business, asks : What is the good of this Christianity ? It does not exact of the converted, charity, unselfishness, honesty, truth, justice, purity. It scoffs at these virtues. It outrages the first principles of Righteousness and Justice lodged in the human heart. It may be, and it is the case, that among many of these Evangelicals there is great goodness of life, kindliness, integrity, and innocence, but—and here comes the rub—

that is not required of them by their religion. They are this not because of their Christianity, *but in spite of it.*

Summary of Doctrines and Objections—Let us now take the heads of “The Gospel,” or that travesty of Christianity which has been preached in Conventicles and Churches since the rise of Evangelicalism, taught in Sunday Schools, and dispersed by means of tracts. Let us see how it is regarded by the sensible British Working Man, and expressed by him with somewhat brutal frankness :—

1. Universal Ruin. According to the *Westminster Confession* man “is dead in sin and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.”

(B.W.M. I don't believe it. It is contrary to the facts of life.)

2. Free Will is abrogated. Man's course for good or for bad is fatally predetermined in every particular. He is “utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to evil” (*Westm. Conf.*).

(B.W.M. Not true. I vote to-day for or against a strike, so that I *know* that I possess Free Will. I can do as I choose.)

3. In consequence of Adam having disobeyed God by eating an apple ten thousand years ago all his descendants are accursed and doomed to endless and excruciating torture, with the exception of a very few, arbitrarily selected. This exhibits God's Justice.

(B.W.M. On the contrary it exhibits supreme Injustice. Punishment out of all proportion to the offence falls upon millions of the innocent, who were not afforded the opportunity of obeying or disobeying God.)

4. God elects to Eternal Life certain individuals, irrespective of their merits or demerits. Thus showing forth His Mercy.

(B.W.M. On the contrary it exhibits Immoral Partiality.)

5. Man, elected to be saved, cannot fall from Grace whatever crimes he may commit.

(B.W.M. A monstrous doctrine, giving a free hand to criminals; relieving man of all moral responsibility.)

There are other points that he would dispute, but these are primary.

Is it to be wondered at that a revolt should ensue against such a shocking presentation of Christianity as this? And this trumpeted from every Protestant pulpit as "the Gospel," and daringly asserted to be true Christianity?

In a very few words we may say: The whole monstrous crop of moral difficulties which have dogged the steps of our holy religion, these in no way form *a part whatever* of the original 'deposit' of the Christian Faith, no part of the teaching of Christ or His Apostles, but are the result of the workings of a mind of no common order, i.e. of Augustine, to whose baneful influence we owe so much of falsehood, misery, and rebellion.

Wesley and Fletcher found that among those who were converted, the morals were in many cases scandalous. The morals of Protestant Ulster are flagrant compared with those of Catholic Connaught. Montague Villiers, Bishop of Carlisle, in his Visitation Charge of 1858, at the same time that he congratulates himself that his diocese is almost wholly free from "the filthiness of the Confessional as from the puerilities connected with the service of the Church of Rome," admitted in the same breath that the moral condition of Cumberland and Westmoreland was below that of any other diocese in England. This pre-eminence in drunkenness and fornication he was at a loss to account for. But it runs alongside with long continued "Evangelical" domination of the see, the absence from it of Orthodox clergy, and proximity to Scotland, whence the festering plague of Calvinism had spread beyond the borders. If exclusive Evangelical teaching did not swell the amount, at any rate it failed to stem the flood of drunkenness and debauchery in the diocese of Carlisle.

The sane and moderate Evangelicals—Having dealt with

the three Babes Evangelicalism suckled at her breasts, Dissent, Romanism and Infidelity, we will return to the society of the sane and moderate members of the central body which, if it held any of the doctrines above mentioned, did so *cum grano* ; like men who draw away from lobster or pork, which they know to be unwholesome, though served on their table ; they will hand it to *convives*, but not touch it themselves.

The Clapham Sect—The Clapham Sect was no sect at all, but a set of friends of like feelings of philanthropy and religion.

The Thorntons—John Thornton was a merchant prince, very wealthy and spending his money liberally, even profusely, in works of mercy. Richard Cecil thus speaks of him : “ He employed the extensive commerce in which he was engaged as a powerful instrument for conveying immense quantities of Bibles, Prayer Books, and the most useful publications to every place visited by our trade. . . . He was a philanthropist on the largest scale, the friend of man under all his wants. Besides this constant course of private donations, there was scarcely a public charity, or occasion of relief to the ignorant or necessitous, which did not meet with his distinguished support. His only question was : May the miseries of men in any measure be removed or alleviated ? Nor was he merely distinguished by stretching out a liberal hand ; his benevolent heart was so intent on doing good that he was ever inventing or promoting plans for its diffusion at home or abroad.”

His second son, Henry Thornton, inherited all his father's generosity and piety. Before his marriage in 1796, he was accustomed to give away six-sevenths of his large income.

William Wilberforce—The recognized leader of the Claphamites was William Wilberforce, but he did not come to reside at Clapham till 1792. In 1797 he issued his *Practical View of the Prevailing Religious Systems of Professed Christians*. Cadell, the publisher, at first printed only five hundred copies, but within six months seven thousand five hundred had been sold. Fifteen editions had been published in England by 1824, and twenty-five in America. Wilberforce's object was “ not to convince the sceptic or

to answer the arguments of persons who avowedly oppose the fundamental doctrines of our religion, but to point out the scanty and erroneous system of the bulk of those who belong to the class of Orthodox Christians, and to contrast their defective scheme with a representation of what the author apprehended to be real Christianity."

Other members of the Clapham set were Zachary Macaulay, James Stèphen, Charles Grant, E. B. Elliot, Thomas Gisborne, and a little later, Lord Teignmouth, with their families; all these, except Gisborne who was only an occasional, though a frequent visitor, regularly attended the ministrations of John Venn, in Clapham Parish Church.

We obtain delightful pictures of the Clapham Sect from the pens of Sir James Stephen,¹ and of Canon Pennington.² The latter was brought up from infancy at Clapham, in a house adjoining that of the Macaulays. His family had lived in the same parish since the middle of the eighteenth century; so that his own personal reminiscences are supplemented by those of his parents. He regularly worshipped during his childhood and youth in that old and ugly parish church that stood in the midst of the Common, surrounded by a few frowsy trees. The Church was opened in 1776, and consisted of two storeys, lighted by round-headed windows, those above lighting the galleries. A mean pediment at the west end above a still meaner pediment to a wretched porch, on three pillars, and a stunted square tower in which was the clock face, the whole surmounted by an octagonal bell-chamber, formed the place of worship of a very distinguished congregation comprising the Thorntons, with the pews of the Wilberforces and Macaulays and Stephens close to their own, and in the gallery sat the Teignmouths.

John Venn had gone to his rest before Canon Pennington's time, but his mother told him much about that eminently wise and good man. Certainly the old Evangelical clergy had a way of winning the confidence and the hearts of their people, and this was due to their kindliness of manner and to their transparent sincerity. We must on no account

¹ Stephen (Sir Jas.), *Essays in Eccl. Biography*, 4th ed., 1891.

² Pennington (A. R.), *Recollections of Persons and Events*, 1895.

accept Thackeray's picture of the *coterie* in *Vanity Fair*, in which are portrayed the Dowager Lady Southdown, Sophia Alethea Newcombe and their clerical toadies, as a true representation of the Clapham sect. It is far truer of the Countess of Huntingdon and her surroundings.

Purchase of Advowsons—An effort was made by the Claphamites under the direction of the elder Thornton, and wealthy well-wishers through the country, to ensure the succession of Evangelical pastors in certain important towns, such as Bath and Cheltenham, by the purchase of Advowsons, and thereby a sort of religious blight has fallen on numerous places, where only the maimed and distorted doctrine of the Evangelicals is preached. The same attempt had been made by the Puritans in the reign of Charles I. but had been checked by Laud. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the project was carried out with success. It is still being pursued by the Church Association.

Charles Simeon wrote : " I had got to the length of my tether, as you will readily imagine with twenty-one livings in my possession. But being strongly urged to purchase the living of Bridlington with six thousand souls, I broke my tether and bought it. . . . After having purchased it, five of those who had urged me to it, knowing how ill able I was to bear the expense, sent me £100 each, and two £50 each, and one anonymously £40, and left me with not above £140 to pay. I felt this a call from God to know nothing of tethers, but to go to the utmost extent of my powers now that the Corporation livings are on sale. Accordingly I devote to this blessed (!) work £2,500, and I send to a variety of places this proposal : Collect among you one half, and I will give the other half—or if three persons will subscribe three-fourths, I will give one-fourth, and the first presentation. Thus, on the first plan, my pittance will go as far as £3000 and on the second plan, as far as £10,000. And then I say to any persons : Help me to enlarge my pittance ; because every £100 will, on the first plan be equal to £200, and on the second plan, to £400. If I could get from others £1000, it would not spare me one penny, but would enlarge my efforts to the amount of £4000. But, behold, I have begun with Derby, and I have got but £100. So that I shall

have to sacrifice for that one place nearly one half of my pittance, whereas I expected that the religious people there would gladly meet me half way. Truly for the most magnificent church in the county there is only one person found to meet my offer of fixing the Gospel there in perpetuity, and thus all my glorious plans are defeated. . . . I had pledged myself to purchase the great living of Northampton at any price. But the vicar has written me word that the Corporation intend to get, if they can, to enable the Bishop of Lincoln to add to it a valuable sinecure in the town; and in return for that, to have the nomination vested in him. Whether this will go forward I do not know. If it do, my intentions with respect to it will be frustrated. But should that be the case, I have my eye upon all the principal towns, to spend all I can in securing the Gospel (!) to them. I have actually sent to Bath my proposals, and if they be accepted—(Bath will sell for at least £5000 having five churches under it)—I shall have my poor pittance swallowed up by that alone. . . . I think I must secure Derby, because of the immense importance of it. I will have four or five other places if I can get them. If I had never done more than purchase Cheltenham, I should be already well repaid for all the pains I have taken.”¹

With regard to Cheltenham he wrote: “Cheltenham, where there are 10,000 besides 10,000 visitors, or nearly so, is mine. It was to be sold for £3000, and I instantly secured it. Mary-le-bone, where there are 100,000 souls, is also to be sold. The price named is £40,000. I hope to get it much under; and if it be sold so low as £25,000, it is mine at this moment.”

This is very unpleasant reading—this buying of souls to blight them with heresy.

Proprietary Chapels—In many large towns, and especially in London, a considerable number of proprietary chapels started up, most of them built in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth. Some were erected by congregations for a pet pastor, but of these the number was very small; some by speculative pastors who hoped to attract a paying congregation; the

¹ *The British Magazine*, May, 1836.

majority by lay speculators, like Sherrick, the wine merchant, who had his cellars under the chapel, and with whom the faithful who attended on the ministrations of Sherrick's minister, Mr. Honeyman, were supposed to deal for their liquor.

These proprietary chapels were not consecrated, and the minister stood in a questionable relation to the bishop of the diocese. These chapels had no parochial districts attached to them; and the occasional services, such as baptisms, marriages, churchings of women and burials were not performed in them. Of these, according to Leigh's *New Picture of London*, there were in 1824, no fewer than fifty-nine.

Pecuniary Speculations—Frequently the proprietary chapel was a pecuniary speculation of a popular preacher, or else of the proprietor or lessee of the land. In the former case the minister ran it and pocketed the profits from pews-rents. In the latter the Jew or Christian lay impropiator hired a loud-mouthed florid preacher at a fixed salary, and took to himself what he could make by the lease of the seats. When a cleric ran the chapel as a private speculation, this was due to some quarrel with his rector, whose curate he had been, or to vanity, in the hopes of out-preaching all the incumbents in the neighbourhood, and of drawing off their congregations to their loss and to his own profit. A writer in the *Christian Remembrancer* for November, 1842, mentions two instances out of many. "A friend, who found that the ball and pump-room at a certain place did not answer the projector's purpose, in consequence bought it cheap, and fitted it up with a parcel of square pews all over the floor, leaving the orchestra just as it was for an organ gallery, and the walls decked out with splendid paintings, representing in rich crimson a vast quantity of imitative curtains, festooned and looped up with artificial gilt cords to match; this was in the way of business merely. Such also was the case of another respectable divine, who, finding that the funds or a mortgage would only produce him three and a half per cent for his neat little fortune of £4,000, boldly invested it in the purchase of a proprietary chapel, which after paying all expenses, cleared him £400 a year. We take

it that this was in the way of business merely, i.e. if he gained ten per cent on his capital by the bargain instead of the Change-alley return."

The day of Proprietary Chapels over—The day of the Proprietary Chapel is over. People are not now drawn by preachers, especially preachers of novelties, as they were. They now have their books and their newspapers, and do not care to pay for seats in these semi-dissenting and extremely ugly places of audition rather than of worship.

The Bible Society—The Bible Society was founded by the Clapham Evangelicals, through the activity of Lord Teignmouth. The *Home Missionary Magazine* for November, 1835, stated that since its foundation in 1804, it had printed and distributed nine millions of Bibles and Testaments; and that during the year 1834, excluding Sundays, and allowing twelve hours to each day, there had been a continual stream of the waters of life flowing from the depository in London, at the rate of nearly three copies of the sacred Scriptures every minute! and that the number printed translated into foreign languages amounted to one hundred and eighty-five different tongues. If the sacred volumes already issued by the Society were placed side by side, allowing two inches to be the thickness of each book, they would extend upwards to the sky for four hundred and seventy-six miles. And what has been the result? Sir James Stephen wrote: "Her annual outputs of self-applause are not quite justified by any success which this great Protestant propaganda has hitherto achieved over her antagonist. Rome still maintains and multiplies her hostile positions—heathen and Mohammedan temples are as numerous and as crowded as before—ignorance and sin continue to scatter the too fertile seeds of sorrow through a groaning world—and it is no longer doubtful that the aspect of human affairs may remain as dark as ever, though the earth be traversed by countless millions of copies of the Holy Text."

The nations were not brought to become the Kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ through the issue of a book, but through the living agency of the Church, inspired by the Holy Spirit.

The Church Missionary Society—An unfortunate temper of opposition to excellent existing institutions manifested itself in the party. Instead of strengthening the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, they set up the rival Church Missionary Society, the ministers of which should be responsible to and under the control of the London Committee, and not of the Colonial and Missionary Bishops.

The Religious Tract Society—Instead of supporting the ancient Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, they instituted the Religious Tract Society, by means of which they hoped to diffuse their special doctrines, and carry them into every cottage in the land, even strewing their tracts in the hedges by the high roads. But the day of tract reading is over.

The Pastoral Aid Society—Instead of collecting money and placing it in the hands of the bishops for the support of additional clergy in populous places, they formed the Pastoral Aid Society which was carried on upon the narrowest lines, paying only such curates, or assisting such incumbents as belonged to the Evangelical party, and abstained from such acts as they disapproved.

The Colonial and Continental Society—The Colonial and Continental Society was another creation of the party, to furnish chaplains on the Continent who would be hand and glove with the Zwinglian and Calvinist pastors and exhibit the Anglican Liturgy in as uncatholic a form as possible. The result has been that a good number of English travellers shun such places abroad as are served by this Society. Its object was as well to capture the Colonies for the Evangelical party.

One great mischief caused by these Societies is that they breed up a fry of hungry sharks, minnows as well, who swim round the offices to snap up any bit of preferment thrown to them. And these are often either men who could not hope for preferment in the ordinary way, being unqualified in breeding or in intellect, or else men who are ready to adopt any party shibboleths for the pay.

Abolition of the Slave Trade—To the Clapham Sect, and especially to its leader, William Wilberforce, is due the eman-

cipation of the slaves in the West Indies. Before Wilberforce threw himself into the movement, it had been agitated by Granville Sharp, grandson of the Archbishop Sharp of York, the brightest light of the Queen Anne prelates. Definite Churchmanship was hereditary in the family, and Granville Sharp did not belong to the Evangelical party. It is not likely that he would have succeeded in the abolition of slavery but for the powerful assistance of William Wilberforce in the House of Commons. The whole party took up the cause, and it prevailed. It was Granville Sharp who founded the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and in 1787, Wilberforce introduced his Bill in Parliament. Mr Wilberforce's motion was lost by a majority of eighty-eight to eighty-three, on 3 April, 1798; but the question was reintroduced under the auspices of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox, then ministers, in 1806; and the trade was abolished by Parliament, 25 March, 1807. Great assistance in stirring up popular feeling against slavery was rendered by Wesley and by the Quakers.

Consequences of Abolition—So many years have passed since the struggle was undergone for the abolition of slavery, that, at the present day, we fail to consider the forces roused to maintain it, their power and wealth; and the corresponding gallantry and perseverance of Wilberforce and Pitt in fighting for freedom and righteousness against vested interests and selfishness. And what is more, we have, perhaps, failed to realize how great and wide-spreading have been the results of that contest and ultimate victory.

It is quite true that the emancipation of the slaves brought with it distress to many, and ruin to some. But the emancipation was the act of the English Parliament speaking for the English people at large, determined to do that which was right, at any cost, and it proved eventually to be the source of many benefits to the millions in our Colonial Empire. The assertion that justice was recognized as paramount in a matter engaging vast interests, and involving great risks, in no small degree assisted in the development, extension and consolidation of our colonial power. The pages on which dealings of civilized nations with their uncivilized fellow-men are written in characters of the blackest ink; they

stir in us feelings of shame that our boasted civilization was so little sweetened by Christian charity. But we owe it to Wilberforce and those noble men who worked with him, to abolish slavery throughout the British dominions, that the Englishman has not been as the Spaniard, and that our Colonial Empire is founded on enduring principles. The necessity for individual exertion felt by those who have been unable to whirl the scourge over trembling slaves, has greatly tended to promote the spirit of self-reliance which, more than any other quality, has rendered the emigrants from our shores such successful founders in strange lands. It did more ; it taught our rulers wherever they have to govern subject, alien races, that great maxim : *Faites que doit, devienne que pourra*, as their principle of action.

To the complete victory of the cause of abolition there has followed, as is often the case, a degree of forgetfulness of the merits of the cause, and of the heroism and untiring perseverance of those who laboured in it.

The Evangelical Party and Literature—For Literature the Evangelical party did nothing considerable. Milner's *Church History* was founded on no original research and teemed with errors ; but we owe to the party a debt of gratitude for having, in the Parker Society publications, issued the letters of the English and Foreign Reformers in the reign of Elizabeth, though it proved to be a discovery of their fathers' nakedness, and the Primers, Latin and English, a convincing monument of the abiding Catholicity of the English Church.

Biography—Biography was the strong literary achievement of the party, but it was biography of the most dreary description. This was due, not so much to the literary incapacity of the writers, as to the uninteresting quality of the personages delineated, who existed in a condition of posturing into positions without ease and contrary to nature. Whereas God has endowed men and women with natural instincts, feelings, desires, tastes, affections, the Saints of Evangelicalism laboured to divest themselves of all such individual characteristics as would attract interest and engage affection.

Our forefathers, when children, were given to play with

what were termed "Jointed Babies." These were wooden dolls, whose limbs moved stiffly and could be put in any position, but which were far from flexible, and whose faces were formed of a round knob enamelled white and pink, with staring eyes and a dab of black for the hair. The Low Church Saints, when we read their Lives, remind us of these Jointed Babies. They put themselves, or were put, in set positions, they maintained stolid countenances; no tenderness, no human feeling shone through their lack-lustre eyes. Nearly all the dolls, when a little abdominal pressure was exerted, could be brought to emit noises. And these human Jointed Babies commemorated by their biographers, could talk—talk—talk in unnatural tones, and utter unreal sentiments.

Hymnody—To hymnody the Evangelicals made some contributions, as Toplady's "Rock of Ages," and some among the Olney Hymns, as Newton's "How sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds," "Glorious Things of Thee are spoken," and Cowper's "God moves in a Mysterious Way," "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," "O for a closer Walk with God," but on the whole their contributions are not equal in merit to those of the Dissenters, Watts, Doddridge, and Charles Wesley.

Fiction—Although the Evangelicals strongly deprecated novel-reading, not allowing their children to taste Scott's novels, or those of Jane Austen and Maria Edgeworth, they condescended to write works of fiction themselves for the young people who could not be worked up into a fever of expectancy over the prophecies of Daniel and the Visions of the Apocalypse.

Mrs. Sherwood—Mrs Sherwood was a prolific writer of stories designed to advance "the cause." Her most famous composition was that tedious tale *The Fairchild Family*; another was *The Lady of the Manor*. "The greater part of the young ladies of England," she wrote, "even the daughters of religious parents, give no evidence of being converted, and some, I fear, are only kept from open and flagrant offences by motives of worldly prudence, family restraint, custom and shame." She was qualified to speak of the daughters of Evangelical parents, and this may have been

true of them ; but it was a calumny against the thousands of honest, sweet-minded maidens reared in quiet Church families, in which there was no crushing out of natural feeling and healthy natural tastes.

Mrs. Sherwood possessed a faculty, whether in her nose or not we cannot say, of being able to decide by a glance at the face, by a sniff of the nostrils, by the utterance of half a sentence, whether to relegate a man or woman to Damnation or to Glory. For a while those of her own persuasion regarded her in this particular as an Oracle ; but when she began to turn on her own friends, members of her own party, then *The Christian Observer*, the organ of the Evangelicals, was obliged to admonish her to humility, and it even told her that "pride of intellect had gone before her fall." Intellect, forsooth ! *Parmi les aveugles, les bornes sont princes.*

Grace Kennedy—Superior to Mrs. Sherwood in ability was Grace Kennedy, whose stories had in them some nature and dramatic interest. But they all turned upon Conversion. Her story of *Father Clement*, that went through thirteen editions, was well written, and the character of the hero was well thought out. But the authoress knew nothing of the Roman Catholic religion which she assailed. She was like Don Quixote tilting against the windmills, thinking them to be giants.

Charlotte Elizabeth—Charlotte Elizabeth, *née* Browne, married a Captain Phelan, and on his death took as her second husband a naval schoolmaster named Lewis Hippolitus Joseph Tonna. Both wrote vehemently Protestant works, but Charlotte Elizabeth became the most noted and widely read author of the two. She embraced the idea that none of the ceremonial ordinances of the Law were abrogated by Christ, and she wrote to the Protestant Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem, "Israel's Ordinances," 1843, arguing from the text of Scripture and from certain detailed practices of "Paul," as she is pleased to term the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that the institutions of the Sabbath, Circumcision, the Passover, and the Levitical priesthood—in a word, all the legal ordinances were never superseded, and were intended to be perpetual ; that the

Jewish Christian Church has, or ought to have, a peculiar system of its own ; and she called upon Dr. Alexander, whom she thought fit to call "*The Bishop of Jerusalem*," in his own person, to revive and continue all "Israel's Ordinances."

Continued Obligations of Observance to the Law—She wrote : " In your person the Church of the Circumcision is once more planted on the height of Zion ; in your person the reproach of seventeen centuries is thus called away from the Israel. Call you what you will, my Lord, you are a Jew, a circumcised Jew ; and your dear partner, the wife of your bosom, is a Jewess, a descendant of Levi ; your daughters who, under the Lord's blessing, are growing up as the polished corners of the temple, are Jewesses also. Here I pause, for I feel that something is wanting to complete the picture. My dear Lord, bear with me while I respectfully and affectionately put once more the query, *Why are not your sons also Jews ?* " In other words, Why are not the young Masters Alexander circumcised ? Charlotte Elizabeth must have been embarrassing to her male acquaintance of Evangelical persuasion by her particular and personal inquiries.

According to Charlotte Elizabeth the tribe of Levi still subsists in all the Levys, Levisons, Lawsons, Lewises ; and the Priestly descent in every Cohen, Colquhoun, " as distinct, as visible, as universally known, as in the days when they served the temple." She expresses her rapture " in the presence of a simple Cohen, an Aaronite, *even were he but measuring me for a shoe* " ; and doubtless she was more eager to open her purse to the hook-nosed, evil-smelling cobbler than he was to receive the money for the shoe.

Imbecility and Ignorance have taken a further stride since the day of Charlotte Elizabeth, in Anglo-Israel. Charlotte Elizabeth's principle was simply an extension and a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Puritan insistence on the obligation of the Mosaic Sabbath as resting on Christians, while describing the Moral Law as not obligatory.

Mrs. Charles—Of far superior literary ability was Mrs. Charles, *née* Elizabeth Rundle, authoress of the *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family* and of the *Diary of Kitty*

Trevelyan. She had unquestionably vastly more ability than Mrs. Sherwood and Mrs. Tonna, and this was recognized by Jas. Anthony Froude and by Tennyson. Her forte was the composition of spurious Diaries and Chronicles of the Reformation and Puritan times. Eventually Mrs. Charles broke away from the mulish and bigoted party to which she had belonged and for which she had written, became a sincere and devout Churchwoman; wrote addresses "On the Seven Last Words," for a class of girls she taught, that breathe the most fervent Catholic piety; also Lives of the Black Letter Saints in the Prayer Book, warmly sympathetic in tone.

Controversial Works—In controversy the Evangelicals were weak, because unlearned, and mistook abuse for argument. A hoary Chancellor of Lincoln, C. S. Bird, wrote a *Defence of Evangelicalism*, which purchased for him the vicarage of Gainsborough. He continued to write controversial books and pamphlets. His last work was *Strictures on Archdeacon Wilberforce's "Incarnation,"* which he had not the capacity to appreciate. He mentioned the result in a letter to a friend. "It is in vain to write for the Evangelical party if one's object were to please them and not a higher one. Only it gives me a fair excuse for my not taxing unrequited trouble hereafter. The same fate (no *sae*) attended my *Convocation* pamphlet. Adieu therefore to controversy." Archbishop Sumner did what in him lay to console him, but agreed with him that "it is disheartening to write what is not read, as the object of our writing is that it should be read."

Theological Literature—Pious, amiable men they were, but in controversial acuteness, skill in the use of their weapons, as ignorant as clowns. Even if they had been right in their cause, lack of adroitness in disputation was a drawback; and what were the men with whom they crossed swords, or, to be more correct, against whom they whirled their sand-bags, like Thomas Horner in the Second Part of *Henry VI*? Their adversaries were profound scholars, learned historians, experienced disputants; men who had Church history, the Fathers, Theology, Logic, at their fingers' ends.

In theology they achieved nothing. Scott's *Commentary* is a monument of pious mediocrity. Archbishop Sumner's *Commentaries on the Gospel of S. John and the Epistles*, after two years, sold for waste paper. It was in the *Interpretation of the Revelation of S. John* that with both their own hands they put on the Fool's Cap; Time alone could refute them in that field, and their antics were calculated to make sensible men weep.

Elliott's "Horæ Apocalypticæ"—Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticæ* was one of these. The book sold by thousands of copies. Everyone desires to peer into the future, some by crossing a gipsy's hand with silver, others by consulting such men as Elliott or Doctor Cumming. Time has falsified their foretellings as it has falsified those of Mother Ship'on and of Zadkiel. Elliott had fixed the date for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, at 1848, and the destruction of the Papacy and the city Rome by "earthquake and volcanic fires," in 1865. The Turks are still in Constantinople and the Pope in the Vatican.

According to Elliott one of the frogs that issues from the mouth of the dragon is Tractarianism, because of its *coaxing* and reiteration of its sentiments. Was this *κοαξ* of the frogs of Aristophanes intended as a joke, or as earnest? Another old clergyman suggested that the three frogs might with greater propriety be interpreted as the Bible Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Jews' Society, "because they went hopping over the face of the earth."

Dr. Züllig of Heidelberg, a student of the Apocalypse, in a review of Elliott's book, wrote: "We may say with honest self-gratulation, that in Germany such a work could hardly have been produced by anyone who had enjoyed a classical education; by anyone at all, indeed, except some worthy, contemplative cobbler who had screwed himself up into the exaltation of supposing himself a prophet by studying the musty anti-papal revelations which he had bought at Rag Fair."

Tract Distribution—The greatest literary activity exhibited by the Evangelical party was shown in the production of Tracts, appeals to Sinners to be converted, tales of extraordinary Conversions of pious washerwomen, and of

children on their death-beds, of remarkable judgments on Sabbath-breakers and swearers.

These were left in cottages, forced into the hands of pedestrians in the streets, deposited on empty seats in railway carriages. Saturdays saw lanky, grim-faced ladies, past the flower of their age, go out along every road leading from a market town, and deposit tracts in the hedges by the roadside.

The Sinner's Friend—The most popular, or to be more correct, the most widely distributed of all these Evangelical publications of the period was *The Sinners' Friend*, by J. Vine Hall, father of the more famous Newman Hall. But then he devoted his life after his conversion to the spread of this performance, and the advertisement at the end of his Biography announces the three hundred and seventy-fifth edition, or, by another computation, the issue of one million six hundred and sixty-three thousand copies. Although Hall regarded this book with complacency as his own composition, it was a plagiarism, a compilation out of Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury*. Out of the thirty-two divisions of the book thirty were Bogatzky's and two only were Hall's. The wonderful diffusion of *The Sinners' Friend* was due not to the eager demand for it made by the Impenitent, but to the fact that it was distributed gratis, strewn in highways, thrust into the hands of travellers, thrown in at windows, and sent by thousands by post to such as Hall deemed ought to be converted.

Vine Hall was not a Churchman, but he boasted that he belonged to no *ism*, though finally he became a Congregationalist. Though not formally attached to the Church he accurately represented the theology of the Evangelical party therein.

Type of Character—What was the type of character formed under this system? It was one generally conscientious, hard, unsympathetic, uncharitable, unmerciful.

It is pictured for us by Dickens, who knew it well; he has described it in *Little Dorrit*. God in His mercy be thanked the author of the present work never knew it in his own family, but he knew of it from his youthful acquaintances, who ate out their hearts in bitterness and rage and revolt.

Bred in Children—Arthur Clennam thus described his parents and his bringing up : “ They were strict people as the phrase is, professors of a stern religion, their very religion was a stern religion, their very religion was a gloomy sacrifice of tastes and sympathies that were never their own. Austere faces, inexorable discipline, penance in this world and terror in the next—nothing graceful or gentle anywhere, and a void in my cowed heart everywhere—this was my childhood.” And the Sundays ! “ The dreary Sunday of his childhood, when he sat with his hands before him, scared out of his senses by a horrible tract which commenced business with the poor child by asking him in its title why he was going to Perdition ?—a piece of curiosity that he really in a frock and drawers was not in a condition to satisfy—and which, for the further attraction of his infant mind had a parenthesis in every other line with some hic-coughing reference to 2 Ep. Thess. iii, 6 and 7. There was the sleepy Sunday of his boyhood, when, like a military deserter, he was marched to chapel by a piquet of teachers three times a day, morally handcuffed to another boy, and when he would willingly have bartered two meals of indigestible sermon for another ounce or two of inferior mutton at his scanty dinner in the flesh. There was the interminable Sunday of his nonage, when his mother, stern of face and unrelenting of heart, would sit all day behind a Bible—bound like her own construction of it in the hardest, barest, and straitest boards—as if, of all books ! it were a fortification against sweetness of temper, natural affection, and gentle intercourse. There was a resentful Sunday a little later, when he sat glowering and glooming through the tardy length of the day, with a sullen sense of injury in his heart and no more real knowledge of the beneficent history of the New Testament than if he had been bred among idolaters.”

How many a family was thus brought up ! And with what inevitable results ?

It has been often remarked that a race which has been crushed and maltreated for some generations loses its manly uprightness, becomes sly, secretive, untruthful. It is due to the treatment to which the Armenian and the Greek

have been subjected by the Turk for centuries that their word and their honesty in trade are mistrusted in the Levant, that they have not the frank truthfulness and uprightness of the Northern races. Puritan treatment of the young in our own land has had similar effects, has produced trickiness, dissimulation, and untruthfulness in word and act, from which those who have been under such bondage find it hard to emancipate themselves.

A Contrast—What a contrast where the children are under Catholic influence ! How now they love to go to Church, no compulsion used, no cowering before the terrors of the Lord, but with their little hearts full of sunshine and love. Some few years ago the author was at Bingen, on the Rhine, and the church bell called for the Children's Mass. From every door the little toddlers came trooping out unattended. They filled the benches, quite happy, lifting their voices in vernacular hymns, and were addressed in tender loving words on Christ taking the children in His arms and blessing them. No drilling, they came with hearty good-will, and themselves kept order.

The author was at Prague on the Emperor's name-day. There was a grand military display. Next to him stood a poor mother with a little child on her arm, which she held aloft to see the soldiers go by.

But the child was askew with tortured spine,
Its neck was ableed and sore,
And the little white face, a tear trace,
The signet of suffering bore.
The prophecy there writ plain
Of a grave, or a future of pain.

All the pageant and pomp she heeded not,
But twisted herself away,
On her mother's shoulder, and eager took
Her prayer-book, wherewith to play,
Where a Cross was inlaid,
And—with that she played.

On the symbol of Death she laid her hand,
And along it she drew each line.
Then stooping she kissed, and again she kissed,
—Still playing—the sacred sign.
To the babe was revealed
Things to wise men concealed.¹

¹ *The Silver Store*, 1898.

The religions are totally different : one built upon terror, the other on love.

A lady writes to the Author : “ Evangelicalism has overshadowed my life, though my nurse was the only one who hit on a means of quelling my temper. Spanking was no good, but she told me that the Devil, with a full description of him, was standing behind me rubbing his black hands, and saying, ‘ That little girl is biting and scratching on purpose to please me. Now she is mine.’ I was horribly frightened and I still dream of the scene. My nurse was forbidden to take me to her chapel, but she did, for I can remember how I used to cry with terror at the awful judgments which a man up a tall flight of stairs used to shout down at us.”

The Puritan appealed through fear to cow the human heart, the appeal of the Church and the Gospel is through love. That is why children now love church who formerly hated it.

A Debt of Gratitude due to the Evangelical Party—Although we may regret the errors and sectarianism of the Evangelical party, we owe more than one debt of gratitude to it that may not be effaced. To its effect on Society we have alluded at the outset. Further, it insisted on personal piety as against soulless formality. It brought the preaching of the heart into the chill pulpits of the Anglican Church ; and now, at the present day, probably the most attractive of all preachers are such as combine Catholic doctrine with Evangelic fervour.

We are indebted also to the party for the introduction of hymnody into our services, to the displacement of the metrical productions of Tate and Brady.

Tokens of decline of power—Already, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, signs of decay had begun to manifest themselves in the party. In 1844, John Foster, a Baptist preacher and a writer in the *Eclectic Review*, published two volumes of Essays, and devoted the second to criticism of the Evangelical Movement, then at its height ; but indicating approaching collapse. This had been written some years before 1844.

He complained that the Evangelical divines, if those

could be called divines who knew nothing of divinity, limited their teaching to one or two points which they had laid hold of, and these they expressed in a few set formulæ. "If, in order to try what those ideas would appear in a different form of words, you attempted to reduce a paragraph to a language employed by intellectual men—you would find it must be absolutely a version. Supposing that a heathen foreigner had acquired a full acquaintance with our language in its most classical construction, and that he happened to read or hear an Evangelical discourse—he would be exceedingly surprised at the strange cast of phraseology." To the ordinary hearers, those peculiar phrases were "not so much the vehicle of ideas, as the substitutes for them. These hearers have been accustomed to chime to the sound without apprehending the sense; insomuch that if they hear the very ideas which those phrases signify expressed ever so simply in other language, they do not recognize them. For such Christians, the diction is the convenient asylum of ignorance, indolence, and prejudice."

In the books of the Evangelical divines, "you are mortified to see how low religious thought and expression can sink; and you almost wonder how it is possible for the noblest ideas—the ideas of God, of Providence, of Redemption, of Eternity, can come into a serious human mind without imparting some small occasional degree of dignity to the train of thought. Only suppose a man who has been conversant with the works of eloquence, taste or reasoning, to meet a number of these books—in what light would the religion of Christ appear to him?"

Foster goes on to complain of the "mock-eloquence" of so many of the Evangelical preachers and writers. "A gaudy verbosity is always eloquence in the opinion of him that writes it; but what is the effect on the reader? Their sounding sentences leave you cool enough to examine a language that seems threatening to move you, without doing so; it is like the case of a sober man at a false alarm of thunder, he looks out to see whether it is not the rumbling of a cart. You may take a great

number of the words out of each page, and find that the sense is neither more nor less for your having cleared the composition of these epithets of chalk, of various colours, with which the tame thoughts had been rubbed over to be made fine."

According to Foster, the Evangelical divines suffered from intellectual poverty, narrowness of outlook, so that they could discern but one or two truths, as well as from extravagance of diction.

Yet it was out of these men that for a considerable period were drawn the Bishops, Archbishops, Deans for the English Church at home and abroad.

The Weakness of the Party—"The weakness of the Evangelicals always lay in their deficiency of learning, and consequent narrowness of view; and this deficiency itself rises naturally out of their religious theory. A young man of earnest character and deep religious sentiment becomes conscious of a strong internal struggle between opposite principles. The good principle prevails, and presently a flood of joy pours in upon him, and an accession of moral strength, such that he appears to himself and to others to be a new creature. But to the spiritual transformation a special religious theory is superadded, under the guidance of which the devotee assumes a solemn vow henceforth '*to know nothing* save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified'; to count all other knowledge as dross; in short, virtually to mistake the first twilight of religious knowledge for full and final day, and refuse to unlearn the errors, lest he lose the humility of childhood. While those whom he had to oppose were practically without religious sentiment, were immersed in wordly ambitions, and supporters of public immoralities, the Evangelical of these days committed no very mischievous error in esteeming those who were enemies of his doctrines as enemies of the divine purposes, and he was nearly right in treating that sect as pre-eminently '*the people of God.*' Neither much learning nor delicate discrimination of character is needed in those who have to preach against gross and indefensible immoralities. But in proportion as the Evangelical movement effected the great ends at which it first aimed, its own internal defects

became of greater influence." When at last the system of West Indian slavery was overthrown, then, "if the old energy of the Evangelical enthusiasm had thereupon concentrated itself on other domestic iniquities, such as the trade in female unchastity and in drunkenness, we might not have to date the public decline of the sect from the era of 1833. But before this they had already become 'respectable.' They had married into wealthy families, and sympathized with vested interests.

" Their domestic action was no longer that of the prophet preaching in God's name against palpable iniquity, but that of the patronizing philanthropist anxious to do so much good to the poor as can be done without too great offence to the wealthy and comfortable. The trumpet voice of the prophet has been reserved by them for foreign missions ; or at home, for invectives against Romanism and Puseyism."¹

Meanwhile one stronger than the Evangelical has come and taken from him the armour wherein he trusted—Pulpit oratory. Impressive sermons, are now heard in High Churches. The Catholic clergy have something to give and to teach, other than oratorical froth.

Prospects of Evangelicalism—A question naturally arises, whether the prospects of Evangelicalism at the present day are hopeful or not. In so far as it represents appeal to personal religion, to faith in Christ and devotion to Him, it must ever thrive. But where it clings to the old tenets of Calvinism or Lutheranism, of Whitefield or Wesley, it is doomed to shrivel up. Where it does this, there exists no perceptible difference between the teaching of the Evangelical parson and of the Dissenting minister. He stands moreover at a disadvantage, for he can only administer to his congregation doctrine in a tepid condition which the other yields hot and strong.

But the Spiritually-minded Evangelical is a valuable asset, that we could ill spare ; as his Church serves as a stepping-stone out of schism on to the solid basis of Catholic faith.

There are whole classes of individuals, especially in Eng-

¹ *Westminster Review*, 1839, p. 43.

land, who can only digest the simplest, elementary truths, and these have to be cared for as well as such as have more robust digestions. These Evangelical Churches are crèches in which the babes in Christ are fed with the pure milk of the Word, or rather milk and water, who cannot keep down solids.

The Basal Doctrine of Biblical Infallibility shattered—Meanwhile the very basis on which Puritanism thought its position secure—Verbal Infallibility—is crumbling away beneath it. It is of no avail for the Evangelical clergy to stand bewildered and wring their hands. This they have begun to see, and they find that they must relay their foundations; and it is dawning on their minds that the Catholic Church does stand for something in its continuity of faith and worship, and in its guardianship of divine Revelation.

When Solomon was dead, say the Arabs, he was planted in the chamber upright, with his sacred seal on his finger, leaning on his staff, and so the Jinns were held in abeyance, in terror. But eventually the White Ants entered the staff from below, reduced it to powder, and down came Solomon, ring and all. Protestantism has long stayed itself on Verbal Infallibility, but the critics, mostly German, have riddled it to such an extent that it can no longer sustain its wielder. It collapses, but the Ring of Power over Demons is not lost—it has passed into other hands.

In crossing a glacier, guides and the guided are roped together. So only in safety can they traverse a slippery and fissured surface.

It was the work of the Tractarians, in a period of great laxity, and of isolated loitering about over the glassy surface of religious opinion, to show that, in the Catholic Church we have such an attachment, reaching from the Supreme Guide, stretching through successive ages in one sure continuity, so that where one man slips—he is held up and recovered by his fellows—and that such as disengage themselves from the bond, or hold to it slackly, are liable to fall into delusions and error.

Opinion of a Japanese Professor—A Japanese professor,

Dr. Anezaki, of the Tokyo University in a lecture to the students described European Christianity. After characterizing religion and the lack of religion in France and Italy, he proceeded to speak of religion in England. "There," said he, "we encounter quite a different state of things. Religious life in England is so complicated that it is not easy to make a definite classification. One noteworthy feature, however, is the renascence of Catholic influence. English Catholicism is not characterized by superstition to the same extent as that on the Continent. The National Church of England is said to be Protestant, but in reality it is Catholic in all but name. The Church is organized on Catholic principles, and its creed and ritual are conservative. But in the bosom of the Church, not all its bodies are so proximate to Catholicism. Those which are so are known as High-Church. Among the Low-Church are some so liberal as to doubt the divinity of Christ."

That the Evangelical party is extinct in the Anglican Communion we would not dream of asserting; what is good and has been good in it remains. It has had to give up many of its prejudices, to adopt surpliced choirs with choral services, the Cross upon the altar, and flowers as well. We have even seen change of colours for the seasons, purple for Lent and white for Easter, and it has shelved its Antinomian doctrines. Above all, it has cast aside its old vituperative tone. For that tone there was excuse. None like to be thrust out of pre-eminence and be obliged to take a lower room; none like to feel that their teeth have been drawn and their claws pared. None, that they belong to a losing cause.

A goose, says Goldsmith, fed its young by a pond side, and a goose, in such circumstances is excessively punctilious. If any other animal, without the least design to offend, happened to approach, the goose was immediately at it. The pond, she said, was hers, and she had exclusive right to bathe, swim, drink there, and she would maintain her right in it, and support her honour, while she had a bill to hiss, or a wing to flutter. In this way she drove away every creature, even the skimming swallow, that swooped to take a sip. A lounging mastiff, however,

happened to approach with intent to lap a little of the water. The goose flew at him like a fury, pecked at him with her beak, slapped him with her wings. "The deuce take thee for a fool," exclaimed he, "those who have neither strength, nor weapons, nor exclusive rights, at least should be civil."

VIII

RECOVERY

Is not that the morning that breaks yonder ?

Henry V, IV, 4.

PERIODIC Progress—The Western Coast of Norway exhibits evidence of periodic elevation. The rise was not steadily continuous, but took place in paroxysms, with long intervening pauses. This is evidenced by the existence of raised beaches, terraced up the mountain sides in stages ; one is six hundred feet above the sea, others are at four hundred feet, one hundred and fifty feet, and the most recent at fifty feet above where the tide breaks. Each upheaval has left behind it deposits of value for fertilization ; and in the case of shells, material for mortar in a limeless land.

But in addition to such appreciable deposits, there are accumulations of worthless rubble, and even here and there a block on which no fern will lodge, no flower take root, and hardly any moss mantle its ugliness.

Such has been the history of the Anglican Church since its submergence in the black and devastating period of Edward VI. During the reign of Elizabeth the upheaval began, and has left its sea-shelf rich with the Liturgy ; with the Thirty-nine Articles, some of which are of dubious value, but with the stranded sterile Lambeth Articles as well.

The Jacobean and Caroline period saw a progressive rise in the Church, leaving as shore-mark the writings of the divines who established the true character of the English Church, and rescued her worship from the indecencies to which it had been subjected. At the same time, however, was deposited the erratic block of the Divine Right of Kings, with its correlative shadow of Passive Obedience, to

cumber the ground till levered out of place at the Revolution, and sent plunging into Limbo.

In the reign of the second Charles, recovery ensued after the devastating storms of the Civil War and the Protectorate. The Prayer Book was improved, and there ensued an elevation in divine worship ; but this sea-beach was eaten into and disfigured by reluctant Conformists, as marmots burrow into a bank to find themselves snug quarters, but in so doing crumble it to ruin.

In the reign of William of Orange, all that could be effected was to hold back the waves from obliterating every trace of progress and improvement that had been achieved since the Edwardian period.

In Queen Anne's reign there was every sign of recovery in the Church. The Church was popular. The clergy were zealous and diligent in the discharge of their duties ; the Essayist had gathered up and enforced all the best teaching of the Latitudinarians. But as Pindar wrote :—

With every boon kind Fate bestows
Two banes the chastening gods combine.

And again :—

The winds that sweep the vaulted sky
Shift every hour their changeful way ;
And when on man swelling Prosperity
In all its fulness comes, it will not, must not stay.

What is true of the individual man is true of the Church generally. The prosperity in Anne's reign was but a flicker, to be followed by darkness.

The Bishops, the fatal legacy of William of Orange, knew not how to take advantage of the opportunity that offered, and let it slip. Opportunity—"Golden Opportunity," as Pindar sang : "The sparkling star, the sunbeam of mankind," had an altar at Athens. If one at Canterbury or London, the Bishops turned their backs on it. And Opportunity lost becomes an evil.

They missed Opportunity in the reigns of James I. and Charles II. They missed it in that of Queen Anne. Are they wiser in this present age ?

The situation became under George I. and George II.

very much like that of the palace of Ithaca, when Ulysses was absent, swarming with suitors who killed and devoured beeves, the sheep, the porkers, drank the wines, and wasted the substance on themselves, whilst Penelope, in her feebleness coquetted with them all, severally. Telemachus, the true heir, protested, but was browbeaten, and silenced. So was it with the English Church. The worthless aspirants to obtain the mastery, and divide the spoils among themselves, the Bishops, were in possession. Convocation was silenced. The situation seemed hopeless. But Divine Providence was over all.

The orthodox clergy were cowed. The order pertains, to that of the Botanical family of *Anagallis*, the Pimpernel, that never opens on a rainy day, and which closes and folds itself tight, long before a shower threatens. Several of our wild flowers close, as, for instance, the *Convolvulus*, before rain, but none are such good barometers as this. And of all sensitive classes of men, even above bankers, we may count the clergy. But it exacts the courage of a saint and the strength of a martyr, to defy the storm and look the thunder-cloud in face without blinking. The Hanoverian clergy were not made of such stuff. It was otherwise at the Oxford revival, there were no Pimpernels then.

The Evangelical Movement—The glacial Hanoverian epoch was one of pause, broken at last by a renewed upthrust, caused more or less directly by the energy of the alien Protestants in our midst, who brought to the surface Personal Religion, and the Spiritual nature of Christianity ; and who emphasized the work of Christ that had been slurred over by the Latitudinarians, and the intimate relation of the human heart with the Redeemer of the World, of which the Latitudinarian had never felt a throb.

If it left on the raised beach of Evangelicalism a certain deposit of noxious doctrine, as a retiring flood leaves decaying marine organisms on the strand to infect the air, it furnished the Church with a body of magnificent, emotional hymnody that will live so long as the English tongue speaks, and English hearts beat at the Name that is above every name.

This was followed by the Oxford upheaval, accepting

all that was valuable in the former movements, and supplementing the last by the additional verity—that there must be Corporate as well as individual religion.

Knowing something of the torpor of the English Church during the period of Hanoverian numbing cold, we have seen it disturbed at last by the convulsive start of Evangelicalism.

In the lassitude of thought that prevailed, the bishops and clergy generally had abandoned consideration of the doctrinal basis upon which the Church stood, and whence she drew her authority. They had not renounced the doctrine of the Apostolic succession and the Divine mission that flowed therefrom, but they had been content to rest on the more obvious and irrefutable fact that they were ministers of the Establishment, the moral police of the State, the parochial bell-men, commissioned to call out once in the week, “O yes ! O yes ! Thou shalt do no murder ! Thou shalt not commit adultery ! Thou shalt not steal !” and then to retire to their parsonages, munch their food, and sleep till next Sunday. The thought was too startling, and drew with it, if entertained, such alarming responsibilities, that they should be ambassadors for Christ, stewards of the mysteries of God—for that would entail constant feeding of the flock, physicing sick souls, rousing the inert, recovering the fallen. They shrank from such consequences, so exacting, and contented themselves with putting on the livery, ringing the bell, and continuing to the end, proclaiming, “O yes ! O yes ! Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit murder, etc. God save the King !”

Their position was secure, the possession of their tithes was sure, their parsonages were their castles, from which they could not be dispossessed, and, as Mr. Molesworth has said : “They urged the Church’s claims to respect and attention not only on her supposed apostolical and primitive descent, but on the fact of her being *by law established*.”

Cobbett—This phrase they continually used, until the time when Cobbett came forward with his racy, vigorous, trenchant style, and taking this watchword out of their mouths, turned it against them, employed it with an almost savage ferocity, by which he expected and intended to bring

about the overthrow of the Established Church, and to satiate the hatred with which he regarded her."¹

The result was precisely the reverse of what Cobbett had desired. He revealed to the startled gaze of the parsons the flimsiness of the basis on which they had taken their stand, and forced them to seek one that was secure. To Cobbett was due the welcome extended to the "Tracts for the Times," furnishing the clergy with a sound principle on which to rest their claims, and forcing them to step off the shingle on to the Everlasting Rock.

In his *History of the Protestant Reformation*, 1824, William Cobbett painted the condition of Church and people as he conceived it to have been in medieval times, and he painted it in the colours of the most delicate rose, the clergy energetic and pious, the people happy and holy, prettily costumed, dancing round a Maypole, innocent, well-fed, frolicsome without buffoonery—just like a scene in an opera. As we know, the picture is utterly false. Then he daubed in one of modern England, with his brush dipped in Indian-ink; the clergy idle and gross, the people oppressed, starving, miserable—a representation only partially true. In the old Catholic Goshen, all was light; in modern Protestant Egypt, unrelieved darkness. Cobbett's book was stereotyped and dispersed broadcast over England. It was read by artisans and ploughmen, and its statements were believed as is the Gospel. It was translated into foreign languages, and was accepted as a true representation of the English Reformation and its results.

The clergy were struck breathless with alarm: "The legal and parliamentary Establishment of the Church, which, a short time before, had been put forth as a boast, now came to be regarded almost as a disgrace, and ceased to be urged."

Spread of Dissent—But this was not all that served to rouse Churchmen out of their torpor. They saw in every parish Dissenting preachers, voluble, with homely eloquence, without any mission from the State, without any legal stipend, drawing off their people from the Church into schism; exhibiting a zeal they themselves possessed not, and a

¹ Molesworth (W. N.), *A Hist. of the Church of England*, 1882, p. 308.

persuasive power to which they could not modulate their own tongues. If Dissent spread and captured the multitude, inevitably the State would withdraw its support from the Church and confer it on the Methodists and Congregationalists, or else leave all indiscriminately to shift for themselves. The Wesleyan could base his claim to be heard on his own assuredness of personal consecration to the ministry; the Congregationalist on the call of the Congregation—but to what could the disestablished priest of the Church appeal?

The Ecclesiastical Circumlocution Office—The Church had been converted by the Whigs into a mighty Circumlocution Office, in which from the Prime Minister down through Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Judges, Law Courts, Privy Council, Heads of Colleges, and every favoured official, all were engaged in the great effort HOW NOT TO DO IT. The department was full of Tite Barnacles, Stiltstalkings and Wobblers, all engaged in the engrossing work of blighting endeavour, and advancing Inefficiency; and all liberally salaried for their efforts.

The poor were starving for the Bread of Life. The ignorant but earnest in spirit were being swept away into Dissent. The Colonists were crying out for religious guidance. The heathen were groping after light. There were plenty of zealous men urgent to do the work that should be done. But How to repress zeal was all that was aimed at, and the Wobblers were in highest favour, because they did nothing, and yet made a show of activity. There must be Organization—it was said—and Organization was made, but only to impede progress. Boards were established to talk, issue reports, and do nothing. Schemes proposed, if practical were promptly pigeon-holed; if impractical, were blauded, because they could do nothing. Every possible obstruction was placed in the way of those who could and would do something. They were cold-shouldered, thrust out of doors, even cast into prison. Every encouragement was given to those who blocked endeavour. For to endeavor signified to be in earnest; to have a purpose, and the Barnacles, political, ecclesiastical, judicial, abhorred and dreaded nothing so much as earnestness, desired nothing so much as

the obliteration of purpose. Yet—*e pur se muove* ; for men may cripple a Creature of God, but not strangle the very life out of it. Consequently, notwithstanding the Circumlocution Office with its highly paid functionaries, its red tape, its strait waistcoats, its gags, its insolence, its evasions, something was done—and done it was in defiance of the Lords John Russell, Palmerston, Shaftesbury, the Privy Council, the Judges, the whole ruck of Sumners, Taits, Thomsons, Bickersteths, Barings, and the rest of the mitred Tite Barnacles and Stiltstalkings, and the less exalted decanal brood of Closes, Goodes and McNeiles together with the whole family of the Wobblers.

Who transformed the face, nay the very soul, of the English Church ? Who, but the men who put down their heads, pressed forward, and snapped their fingers in the faces of the Circumlocutionists and of the Privy Council ?

We have no intention here of telling again the oft-told story of the Oxford Movement. It can be read in the pages of Dean Church, who passed through the period, and knew the leaders (*The Oxford Movement*, 1891).¹ The after story, the author has related in his *The Church Revival*, 1914.

We shall accordingly at this point stay our narrative.

The English Church and the the Unity of Christendom—It has been supposed by some sanguine spirits that the Anglican Church is destined to perform a part, and that a great part, in the Unification of Christendom.

This is improbable ; her weaknesses are too conspicuous, her defects too grave, for her to play such a part. She would have to heal her own sores before she could do anything in the way of salving the wounds of Christendom. Controlled as she is by the State and with something like two-thirds of her cures of souls supplied with clergy by lay-patrons, with men of every phase of belief and disbelief, with her worship very far from what it should be, the Divine Liturgy displaced to make way for a monastic office, she can exercise no certain effect upon the other branches of the Catholic Church, Latin and Oriental.

As to the Latin Church, we can have no communication

¹ See also Ollard (S. L.), *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, 1915.

with her till she has been relieved of Papal Infallibility and Papal pretensions to dominion.

With regard to Dissent it is another matter. Much that hitherto has stood in the way of Conformity has crumbled down. Prejudice against forms of worship has disappeared, and certain sects have adopted some sort of Liturgy. Where in Dissenting chapels the service is not approximated to that of the Church it has become more or less a service of song, a musical performance. The following is the programme of an Evening Service at the Lyndhurst Road Meeting-house, Hampstead.

EVENING SERVICE.

7-8 p.m., Sunday, Jan. 6, 1918.

Hymn 391, "Sometimes a light surprises."

Prayer.

Hymn 177, "Light of the world."

Scripture Reading.

Offertory (i.e. a Collection).

Solo, "Have faith," Mme Ghita Corri.

Hymn 390, "Begone unbelief."

Lecture, Dr. Horton.

Hymn 341, "Souls of men, why will ye scatter?"

Benediction.

Surely this is merely a Sunday Variety-Entertainment.

Disapproval of the Christian seasons is no longer felt. Advent, Christmas, Lent and Easter receive recognition. The Puritan prejudice against clerical garb, at least in the street, is completely gone; so completely that now the Dissenting ministers dress more clerically than the clergy themselves, and they have taken recently to shaving smooth to look like Catholic priests. A gold cross dangles from the watch-chain as though the pastor were a member of the Society of the Holy Cross. Stained glass is now introduced into the chapel windows. The ring in matrimony is put on. Organs rumble and pipe in almost every meeting-house. But most important of all is the abandonment by the Sectarian preachers—except in remote hamlets, among congregations as emotional as they are ignorant—of Antinomian teaching. And then and there it is far from intentional, but is due to the substitution of Emotionalism for a Rule of Life. The poison-fangs of Calvin and Luther have not been

extracted, but have dropped out or are loosened through old age. And yet this is but recent.

What the higher type of Dissenting pastors, who have been well educated, actually teach and preach is the Life and Office of Jesus Christ, His divine compassion for fallen man, His descent into this world of woe, His teaching to banish error, and His example to show man how he should walk ; how He died for our transgression and rose again to give us hope of immortality ; how He ever maketh intercession for us, and is ever ready in answer to prayer to afford supernatural Grace ; how He is present still among us, at the door of every heart knocking and desiring entry to take full possession, to cleanse, to brighten, to sanctify ; how that He will come again in majesty to punish stubborn rebels, and to reward His true disciples. All this is taught in the Church as well as in the Chapel, without any difference. The one thing lacking in the latter teaching is the doctrine of the Church, visible as the Kingdom of Christ in which He continues the work begun as prophet or teacher, priest as intercessor, and King as authoritative to commission His officers.

On the 21 May, 1919, the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the United Free Church Assembly at Edinburgh and addressed it on the League of Nations. He is reported to have said that " by the tremendous ordeal of the war they had learned that the things that sundered them were smaller than those that drew them together." This is only true if the Presbyterians abandoned what has been in Calvinism a vital principle, Unconditioned favour of God to man, unconditioned acceptance, and Unconditioned Salvation. As we stand, the Church is severed from Presbyterianism and Methodism and Congregationalism on this radical question that affects man's life here and his Salvation hereafter. This is not a small matter, it is one that is essential.

Calvinism as an active theological principle is dead. What took its place was vehement Emotionalism, and the preaching of sensible Conversion. But this loses its effect when advocated at the least fifty-two times in the year. If you poke a fire incessantly you poke it out. Revivalist appeals having lost their effect, recourse has been had in far too

many cases to a pretty, shallow sentimentalism, a soothing syrup heavily loaded with saccharine. But this is liable in time to produce nausea.

How Unity is to be Sought—The highest and noblest aspiration a Christian can entertain is for Unity. But the desire for unity may be of two sorts. Its basis may be either the necessity admitted that we should agree with all Christendom, or that all Christendom should abate its claims and be brought to agree with us. This latter has been the line adopted by insular-minded Anglicans. To them it has never occurred that in many points we might lack what others possess. As to winning Dissenters and getting them to enter the Established Church by eliminating from the Church everything of which the Nonconformist disapproves—that is just the procedure that never would win a single Dissenter. He does not desire to step from a slough into a slop, but to plant his feet on firm ground. When a jewel-case has been emptied of all its treasures the old case is hardly worth preservation.

Former Condition of Cornwall—An instance in point is that of the Church in Cornwall. A clergyman, an incumbent, in that portion of the Exeter diocese, wrote in 1861: "Look at the majority of our country parishes in the district of which I speak; the clergyman—is he not often the only churchman in his parish? Of his small congregation some from habit, some from indifference to religion generally, some from interest, none from principle; and he stands alone as the representative of the Church among his seven hundred, one thousand, or two thousand parishioners." Again: "If any clergyman thinks or expects, as a clergyman, by any means to obtain or have ceded to him, by his people as at present constituted, at least in Dissenting districts, the position in his parish of chief spiritual adviser, to the exclusion or even to the prejudice of the tinker or the tailor, I say it advisedly, that he is doomed to certain disappointment. . . . Nor, supposing he essays another line, and fondly hopes, by adopting the popular opinions of these worthy gentlemen, to win his way to victory, and to beat them, as it were, at their own weapons, is he likely to meet with a better success? He will soon find that their weapons

are too coarse for his handling—their secret means of carrying on the hidden warfare of far too unscrupulous a nature to suit his notions of propriety ; and he will then find a defeat awaiting him even more signal in this case than in the former, inasmuch as defeat here must carry with it an acknowledged superiority of the successful adversary, and a consequent complete cession of the ground.” The same writer adds that he has seen this tried, “ and that, too, by able and energetic men, with wonderful effect at first—crowded congregations, Methodist preachers coming to Church, the Meeting-houses partially closed, to the infinite disgust of the proprietors.” But he has seen, too, the end of this fine policy, which we must candidly admit has met with such success as it deserves. “ First, then, A., well-known in the religious world as a popular commentator and writer. He then adopted the line above alluded to. Well, A. drew crowded congregations to his church, and made a great stir for about three years. At the end of that time his influence began visibly to diminish and his congregations to fall off ; until, at the end of another three years, his influence was entirely gone, his congregations had dwindled down to their pristine paucity ; and still a prophet in every man’s parish but his own, his own had ceased to receive him. Self-respect compelled A. to seek another sphere.”¹

Since 1861 a great change has passed over Cornwall. There have been no longer attempts made to bring the Church down to the level of the Chapel. This has proved to be a failure.

But there has been a slow yet sure rise in Church teaching both in doctrine and in the inculcation of morality as a necessary concomitant to Christianity, as also an enrichment of public worship, with the result that annually more and more dissenters enter the Church, to become worshippers and communicants.

Whereas in 1861 there were not above a dozen parish churches in Cornwall in which was a weekly Celebration of the Eucharist, in 1916 there were as many as 162, and in several were daily celebrations.

A Change for the Better—In 1861 the greatest possible

¹ *Clerical Papers*, by One of our Club, 1861.

difficulty was encountered in obtaining candidates for Confirmation, the returns for 1912, 1913, 1914, were as follows :—

	No. of persons confirmed.				Proportion of confirmed to the population.
1912	M. 594.	F. 956	.	.	. 1 in 210
1913	M. 1136.	F. 1082	.	.	. 1 in 148
1914	M. 1339.	F. 1151	.	.	. 1 in 132
<hr/>					
	Total 6259				

We do not give the numbers in the exceptional years of the Great War.

That which is specially noticeable is that, with the exception of 1912, the number of male candidates exceeded that of the females.

This improvement is entirely due to the Church being able to give to the Dissenters that which they cannot obtain in their chapels.

Difficulties—The great difficulty now making itself felt in Dissent, in the towns—not as yet in country places—is that the ministers are over-educated for their congregations, not that there is so much difference in general culture, and polish of manner, as in theological regions. In the Congregational and Methodist colleges the professors are men of reading and of thought, and the young men trained under them are brought face to face with some of the problems of the day in matters theological, as that of Biblical origins and infallibility. There will always be a certain residuum of dull thinkers, or flashy speakers with shallow intellects, who will continue to trot round in the same track as has been trodden by preceding pastors, and who will accommodate themselves to the tastes and the capacities of their town audiences. But the men of independent minds and questioning spirits will not be content to run in the old groove. They will search out and sound the problems that are set before them, and will accordingly fall out of touch with the old women and white neck-tied deacons of the town chapels.

The Question of Origins—The situation of the ministers has become serious. The Latin Church has confined the knowledge of the contents of the Bible to such portions as

are used in Divine Service, and these have been made unintelligible to the laity by being sung or said in Latin. But German Protestantism has done far worse than withhold the Bible from the people—it has laboured to impress its worthlessness on their minds. Which is better, to deprive folk of full nourishment or to poison the food wherewith they are supplied ?

Prove to a Dissenting teacher that the Holy Scriptures are not holy at all and what has he to teach ? He falls back on Sentimental Religion which is as unsubstantial as a rainbow.

When the writer was a child he was told that a gold cup lay at the root of this bow of God, and many a time has he run after the bow that ever eluded him. And so with a mere sentimental religion. There is no gold cup at its base, no gold at all, nothing—positively nothing, but the tears of Heaven dropped on the sodden earth.

Calvin's *Institutes* and Luther's theological writings are now little read by students in the Dissenting Colleges. They are forced to consider Biblical origins.

And of Biblical Inerrancy—In the days of our grandfathers, even with many of us in those of our fathers and mothers, every statement made in the Old Testament was to be taken as literally true ; and yet S. Jerome had cautioned men in his day to beware of so doing, as the language of the Scriptures was accommodated to the comprehension of the men of the time. The inerrancy of the Bible was a dogma laid as a yoke upon the necks of the rising generation. In 1860 the first conspicuous attack on this position was made by the writers in the *Essays and Reviews*, "the Seven against the Faith," as Mr. Frederic Harrison termed them. There was a good deal that was rash and provocative in the volume, but also that which was true, and has since met with general acceptance. What the writers proposed was to point out against the received misconception, that Holy Scripture is of a composite and progressive nature, and this is what is now accepted as a fact by almost all careful students of every school.

But it was precisely on verbal infallibility undisputed

that every dissenting sect started. Abandon that ground, and on what can they draw up their phalanxes ?

We know now so much more about Biblical origins, we are assured that it is possible to discriminate the dates of the several compositions, to note the errors into which the writers are supposed to have fallen, and the supposed failure of prophecies ; as also the fictitious authorship of some of the books, so that the whole doctrine of Verbal Infallibility is ruined. And *that* these students take in as proved truths, though resting on a set of guesses more or less doubtful. On what are they to fall back ?

Two Positions—There are but two positions on which to make a stand—Deism, or recourse to the primitive Rule of Faith which was held and taught as essential long before the Canon of Scripture was fixed : a Rule of Faith, with which goes a Rule of Worship recognized through all the ages of the Church, recognized in every portion of the Christian world, in the Greek, the Armenian, the Roman, the Anglican Churches, among the Christians of S. Thomas of Malabar, the Nestorians of the Kurdish Mountains, and the Copts in Egypt.

The Dissolution of Liberal Protestantism—The student in the Dissenting Colleges is forced to examine into the origin and development of Scripture. He cannot fail noticing the relation of the Mosaic traditions of Creation and Deluge to those of the Sumerians as taken over by the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians, and questioning whether these Biblical stories are not loans. He looks with suspicion on the “Chronicles,” as manifestly not genuine history, but history worked over and worked up with a “tendency.” He finds that the text of Isaiah has been interpolated ; and that in the other prophets passages appear to have been inserted to relieve the prevailing sternness of the message, and introduce a ray of hope. He is no longer disposed to accept Deuteronomy as of Mosaic authorship ; and he is disposed to consider Esther and Jonah and Ruth as folk-tales or as fictions written to convey a moral. This is what modern high criticism has taught him ; and he finds that the very foundations of Protestantism are undermined. It may still stand, an empty crust, a something to which the

uneducated and half-educated adhere ; but to him the merely external authority of the Bible is a thing of the past. What can he do ? Can he preach to a congregation on texts which he mistrusts ? On what is he to repose his own faith if the Book fail him ? In a good many cases he becomes a sceptic. In some he ministers with a sense, and a knowledge of the unreality of his teaching. In some cases he turns to the Church as the living witness to the Truth.

Change in Cultural Levels—In 1863, Mrs. Oliphant published anonymously *Salem Chapel*, a graphic and kindly portraiture of a Congregational connexion in a county town, and of a cultured young minister and his experiences and disappointments in his work. Hoping on account of his education to obtain access into the higher circles of society, he meets with a slight that embitters him against the Church and makes him rage against its connexion with the State. Moreover, he finds the social bed in which he is planted very uncongenial to his refined tastes. The bad grammar, the faulty pronunciation, the narrowness of the outlook, and the deficiency in mental as well as social culture of those who compose his flock make him restive and discouraged.

At that time it was an acknowledged fact that when a tradesman's or a merchant's business had so flourished that he was wealthy his young people would desert the Conventicle and join the Church, not out of conviction, but for convenience, to escape from the narrow circle in which they had been reared, with its prejudices, peculiarities and vulgarities, into a freer field. But such were no gain to the Church, for they brought with them none of the traditional devotional feeling, abhorrence of cant, and aroma of ancient culture, that belongs to the hereditary Churchman. But all this is now past. The members of the Dissenting Connexions are, at the present day, different from what they were when *Salem Chapel* was penned. The modern Middle Class now is vastly better cultured than was the country squirearchy in the Georgian period, and its members, though engaged in trade, have the polish of manner, the openness of mind, and the reading that was not theirs half a century ago. The daughters of this class have profited more largely than those of the gentry by birth, by the high-school

education given them, and whereas most of our young ladies with blue blood in their veins, or pretending that they have it, can hardly write a letter without a misspelling, and who read nothing save the last novels, the daughters of the poulterer and the fishmonger, can typewrite correctly, and are familiar with Shakespeare, Scott and Macaulay.

The Dissenting Ministers are highly educated, and possess, in many cases, especially in the matter of Biblical criticism, a more liberal view than have most of our curates.

The nobleman, the squire of ancient family, can associate with the ironmonger or the grocer with whom he deals, as with gentlemen of equal culture, of as refined manners and with a like delicacy of honour.

Thus it has come about that Church and Chapel now face one another without any invidious and adventitious advantages in favour of the former, and this is a great gain, for which Churchmen have every cause to be thankful.

Henceforth they meet in a fair field and with no favour shown. The Church cannot offer the dissenting Minister a better salary than what he gets in the Chapel; nor any social preference, for the Dissenters have now among them Lords and Ladies, Baronets and Knights galore, but what she can and does offer is what they cannot have and do not have, in *Salem Chapel* and *Bethesda*—Apostolic Mission, Apostolic Order, the Entirety of the Catholic Faith, and the Worship of the Lamb as it had been slain, in the Commemorative Sacrifice of the Altar.

Prospect still future—Although at present we see no prospect of union in Christendom, we cannot doubt that at some time in the future, how near or how distant we cannot tell, the Prayer will be answered that is said daily by every Roman priest as, with inclined head and joined hands, and with eyes fixed upon the Host, he pleads: “Lord Jesus Christ, who saidst to Thy Apostles, Peace I leave with you, My peace I give unto you; regard not my sins but the faith of Thy Church; and grant to it that peace and unity which is agreeable to Thy will; Who livest and reigneth, God for ever and ever.” And that of the English priest prayed twice daily: “O God, the Creator and Preserver of all mankind; We humbly beseech Thee for all

sorts and conditions of men, that Thou wouldest be pleased to make Thy ways known unto them, Thy saving health unto all Nations. More especially we pray for the good estate of the Catholic Church ; that it may be so guided and governed by Thy good Spirit, that all who *profess and call themselves* Christians may be led into *the* way of truth, and hold *the* Faith in Unity of Spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life."

And, above these, the intercessory prayer of the Great High Priest of our Salvation : " Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in Me, through their word : that they also may be One ; as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us ; that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me."

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